TL1453

East Timor Violations of Human Rights

Selected reports on some significant developments
August 1989 - August 1990

***Ze Miranda**, an East Timorese political prisoner being transferred handcuffed to Cipinang prison in Jakarta where he is now serving a 12 year sentence. He was formerly the Indonesian appointed administrator of the Iliomar-Lautem district.*

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EAST TIMOR: VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Selected reports on some significant developments, August 1989- August 1990

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Update on Human Rights in East Timor

ASIA WATCH, March 1990

VI. EAST TIMOR

In December 1989, informed sources told Asia Watch that the situation in East Timor was worse that at any time since the mid-1980's when a series of Indonesian military offensives led to mass arrests and political killings of persons suspected of support for the armed independence organization, Fretilin (Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente or Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor).

The sources of conflict were many, but the most important continued to be the 14-year-old Indonesian military occupation of the territory and East Timorese opposition to it. Although Indonesia's illegal annexation of East Timor as its 27th province has been accepted by many countries including the United States and Australia as a *fait accompli*, it has never been recognized by the United Nations as a genuine act of self-determination. The Indonesian presence, with tens of thousands of civil servants and security forces, tight restrictions on basic freedoms, and widespread corruption, is enough to cause deep resentment, quite apart from the utter failure of the Indonesian government to accept responsibility or indeed show any remorse for the tens of thousands killed during and after the Indonesian invasion in 1975. Many more died of war-induced famine and disease.

Economic depradation of East Timor is also a factor. The population dislocations caused by the military during the years of war and resettlement of East Timorese in tightly clustered and guarded villages have left large tracts of "empty" land which the Indonesian authorities are now distributing to the military, the local government, and private individuals.* The production of coffee, East Timor's major cash crop, is organized from grower to market by a military-controlled company, PT Denok, with the price of coffee reportedly higher in Dili than in the Javanese city of Surabaya where it is exported.

A national birth control program has also caused resentment. A *Newsweek* article (October 23, 1989), censored by the Indonesian government, quoted the Bishop of Dili, Carlos Ximenes Belo, as saying, "With so many dead, we have no population problem here."

Arrests and Demonstrations

If resentment of the Indonesians remained high, many East Timorese in 1989 grew bolder about public expressions of it. On February 6, Bishop Belo wrote to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar urging him to take a more active role in the decolonization process and asking for a referendum on self-determination. When the letter was made public, Bishop Belo by his own account was interrogated for three days, and Indonesian officials were quick to claim that the Bishop was expressing his personal opinion only, that he was wrong to send such a letter, and that his sentiments did not reflect the aspirations of the people of East Timor. Defense Minister Benny Murdani was particularly offensive: "Don't think that just because someone's a religious leader, he's also clever in politics -- some people are dumb, like him."*

Asia Watch believes that non-violent advocacy of *any* political viewpoint, including calls for independence or self-determination, is guaranteed by the internationally-recognized right to freedom of expression, and that the harassment that Bishop Belo endured as a result of his letter is a clear violation of that right.

It was clear, contrary to the Indonesian statements, that many others shared the Bishop's view. A series of arrests took place in April, May and June in East Timor, and some of the more than 75 believed arrested in Dili, Lospalos, Manatuto, Baucau and Laclubar were thought to be supporters of the Bishop's letter. Bishop Belo told Australian journalists that 40 people had been arrested in May alone, and eight of them had been tortured; Indonesian authorities in Dili said that not 40 but 27 people had been "interviewed" about links to Fretilin, none had been charged, none tortured, and all were now released. ("Interviewing" usually means being taken into custody and interrogated, sometimes overnight.) In the same interview, Bishop Bèlo explained the obligation he felt to speak out by saying, "Priests and bishops can speak, but the ordinary people cannot speak. If they do, they face interrogation and torture."*

He reiterated the same theme in a letter written on June 7 to Bishop Manuel Martins of Setubal, Portugal, which only reached its destination seven months later. In the letter, Bishop Belo also expressed fears for his own safety and said the East Timorese were being forced to accept Indonesian rule "at pistol point."**

Further arrests took place in June. On June 14, an East Timorese student living in Bali named Elias Pereira Moniz, aged 29, was arrested reportedly on suspicion of supporting Fretilin. He was held for more than two weeks in the district military command (KODIM) in Bali and then released.

Fearing that they too would be arrested, six other Timorese students studying in Bali fled to Jakarta on June 19 and sought political asylum. Another Timorese studying in Jakarta joined them, and two went to the Japanese embassy, five to the offices of the Papal Nuncio. They also demanded to be given Portuguese passports to leave the country. Their appeals were turned down, and after the Indonesian government promised that none of them would be arrested, six of them went to the house of a former governor of East Timor for sanctuary.

On October 12, another public demonstration of discontent took place during a long-awaited visit to East Timor by Pope John Paul II. Asia Watch was told that a wave of arrests took place on October 10-11 before the visit as a precautionary measure; sources asked that the names of those arrested not be published but they included a 35-year-old owner of a cigarette kiosk; a rice trader; and two drivers, all of whom had been previously detained. Most were not held more than a few days, but one of the drivers was either kept in detention or rearrested after the demonstration, as he was known to have been in custody in December.

The Pope clearly alluded to the human rights catastrophe that East Timor has experienced. Before he arrived in Dili, he gave a speech before President Suharto in Jakarta in which he said, "At times, nations are tempted to neglect human values in a disastrous pursuance of political unity based on military or economic power and nothing more. Such unity can easily fall apart." He also cited the need for a "profound respect for human life, for the inalienable rights of people to their liberty, and for the freedom of responsible citizens to determine their own destiny as a people."*

In Dili, the Pope gave a homily to the assembled crowd of some 80,000 in which he said in front of his Indonesian hosts, "For many years, you have experienced destruction and death... You have known what it means to be victims of hatred and struggle." As he concluded the mass, about 1:45 p.m., a group of about 20 youths broke through the security barriers, shouting "Long live the Pope!" Behind them were an estimated 100 more demonstrators, carrying banners saying, "Fretilin greets the Pope." Security forces tried to disperse the demonstrators; in the process, they seized cameras from two journalists and exposed the film. The demonstrators, mostly young men, threw chairs and stones at the troops as they were being charged.

The next day, Bishop Belo estimated in a phone conversation that 40 people had been arrested and some were subsequently tortured. At least five others sought refuge in his residence. He was quoted as saying, "I am shocked that the military is extracting false confessions under torture. The boys were trying to express their discontent with the situation in East Timor."

The behavior of security forces following the demonstration was also raised by three priests in a letter to the military commander of East Timor on October 15. Two of the priests, Father Eligio Locatelli and Father Andres Calleja, administrator and rector respectively of the Don Bosco Secondary School at Fatumaka, were blamed by the military for having provoked the demonstration. In their letter, the priests expressed regret for the incident but said neither they nor their students had been involved and then went on to criticize the subsequent arrests:

> Finally, we deeply regret also that some of our students were hunted and arrested indiscriminately during the night of October 12 because wearing the green T-shirt of the School of Fatumaka, they were brought to the police-station, beaten (one of them not recovered and not yet home), interrogated in a very prejudicial way, trying and forcing them to mention Fr. Locatelli and Fr. A. Calleja as the leaders of the School of Fatumaka who provoked the disorder of Tasi-Tolu at the end of the Mass.
>
> The boys who were arrested told us that they were invited to raise streamers...like those of the manifestants, while a photo-camera wanted to catch them with the background of the video-screen with the scenes of the tumult of the manifestants at Tasi-Tolu.
>
> To say the whole truth, our students said that there were [also] policemen with very good manners.
>
> These happenings at the police-station are absolutely unfair, and still worse the communication sent to Jakarta that the School of Fatumaka has been the cause of the disorder as it was said by Radio Indonesia, the Koran ABRI in Dili, other newspapers, Radio Australia, Radio Holland, etc.*

On December 17, a bipartisan group of 114 members of the United States House of Representatives wrote to U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker III stating that they were "deeply disturbed" at reports of arrests and torture following the October 12 demonstration. They said that the use of torture to extract confessions "would fall into a well-established pattern in East Timor and throughout Indonesia of mistreatment and abuse of detainees in the period immediately following arrest."**

A spokesman for the Indonesian embassy in Washington wrote to the *Washington Post* six days later on December 23 that only 13 had been arrested. Of these 10 were immediately released, and three were held longer for questioning. "The case is still being investigated to determine if any law has been broken and if charges should be made," wrote the spokesman. "In the meantime, no one is being detained, much less tortured."

If no one was in custody at the time the letter was written, the embassy waited to write it until the last person was released, because as of December 6, almost two months after the demonstration, eight people remained in prison according to information received in Dili by Bishop Paul Moore, the retired Episcopal bishop of New York, during a visit there the first week in December. He was told the eight would be arraigned on January 10. Bishop Moore was told that during their detention, the young men were allowed to see Bishop Belo once a week; no family visits were permitted. Asia Watch has not been able to verify the Indonesian Government's assertion that all were freed.

On November 4, a demonstration against the Bishop, apparently organized by former members of the pro-Indonesian political party Apodeti, took place in front of the Bishop's residence, Taman Lesidere. High school youths from the Santo Jose Catholic secondary school organized a counterdemonstration. In the process, according to Indonesian sources, vehicles belonging to the security forces were damaged.* Eight students are believed to have been arrested; six were identified by name. Four of the six were held for interrogation in Wisma Senopati II, apparently a military guesthouse, and two were reportedly taken to a building owned by a military-backed business, PR Nusra Bakti. On November 15, a unit from the district military command, KODIM 1627, surrounded the Santo Jose school as the prelude to a search for four other students believed to have been involved in the counterdemonstration. KODIM soldiers were accompanied by military police and members of an all-East Timorese military unit, Battalion 744. According to one report, soldiers advanced with bayonets and male students responded by throwing stones. The military then fired three volleys into the air with M-16 rifles. One student found hiding in the school, Manuel Mausiri, was badly beaten. Another, Natalino Peltrao, was apprehended but Bishop Belo arrived on the scene in time to intervene with the military and prevent his detention. At least one other student, Pedro da Costa, was also detained for questioning and severely beaten.

Finally, on January 17, as U.S. Ambassador John Monjo was visiting East Timor, a group of more than 100 demonstrators demanding independence and respect for human rights gathered outside his hotel, the Hotel Turismo in Dili. The following eye-witness account from an Australian tourist, Andrew McMillan, describes what happened next:

> Within two or three minutes, half a dozen soldiers armed with rifles trotted into the beer garden. Half a dozen rocks were thrown at the soldiers by demonstrators on the balcony. A couple of the soldiers hurled rocks back at the students on the balcony. Three students ran into the beer garden and were apprehended by the soldiers who kicked, punched, and beat them with rifle butts. As those students were dragged away we sought refuge at the entrance to the hotel.From there were could see dozens of soldiers and police gathering in the street. I returned to my room at the hotel to get a camera and tape recorder.
>
> When I returned to the entrance to the hotel, the US ambassador and his aides and their Indonesian hosts were listening to the student leaders who were pleading with the Ambassador with a megaphone. An interpreter told us that the students were apologizing for the disturbance, that they were outlining human rights abuses perpetrated by the Indonesian military and calling for United Nations intervention in East Timor. The students claimed they would be persecuted or killed for taking part in the demonstration. Student leaders and the Ambassador spoke to each other through megaphones for an hour. Throughout this period, Indonesian officials cooperated with the Ambassador, giving the impression that free speech was allowed in East Timor.
>
> While riot police with shields and batons lined up on the street on either side of the hotel, plainclothes Indonesians videotaped, photographed and recorded the names of students.
>
> As the Ambassador left the hotel in a red Toyota at about 1:45 p.m., the students surged beside and behind his car in order to gain safe passage away from the hotel. When the Ambassador's car was fifty meters away, riot police and soldier charged into the demonstrators, beating them with batons and rifle butts. The students were, at this point, on the street immediately in front of the hotel. Some students managed to escape. The rest, I would estimate 40 in all, were clubbed and

> beaten into a human pile against the hotel's iron fence. Many were streaked with blood and obviously in shock. Students who scaled the fence and sought refuge amonst the five tourists and two diplomats sheltering at the entrance to the hotel were chased, kicked and beaten with M-16 rifles.
>
> As students in the human pile began praying and men in plainclothes dumped buckets of sand over pools of blood on the roadway, I saw one body, that of a young man, dumped onto the tray of a grey truck. A red rag was thrown over his face. Police climbing into the back of the truck kicked his body out of the way. He did not respond.
>
> As soldier and police stood back, under the restraining command of officers who were obviously aware of the presence of foreign onlookers (I was two metres from the pile at this stage watching over the fence), an International Red Cross workers moved in, the students disentangled themselves and straggled towards the Bishop's house two doors from the hotel. Many were crying and streaked with blood. Others retrieved bloodied sandshoes and footwear before moving to the Bishop's house.
>
> One student threw a blood stained T-shirt to me. I placed the T-shirt on the tailgate of the utility [vehicle] I was leaning against. Within 30 seconds it had disappeared.
>
> By 2:10 p.m. the street was virtually empty.*

The accounts of Mr. McMillan and his friend Jennifer Groves mention that they were told that two of the demonstrators had died; this information later proved to be inaccurate. At least three students were hospitalized, two with serious head wounds, however.

Through a spokesman, Ambassador Monjo expressed regret that a peaceful demonstration had been broken up by force and urged the Indonesian government not to arrest anyone. Students who had been taken into custody by the miltary were released following the Ambassador's plea, but Asia Watch learned that several were being sought by security forces for further questioning and at least five were reported to have taken refuge in the home of a Catholic priest, Father Leao da Costa.

Pattern of Arrests

Concern over the fate of the student demonstrators is heightened by the pattern of arrests that has emerged in East Timor over the last year. Few political prisoners are tried and sentenced, in part, according to one source, because the Indonesian government understands that international human rights organizations use the number of political prisoners as a standard indicator of human rights abuse. Instead, people are held for interrogation for periods often lasting less than two weeks in Dili and for a month or longer in outlying districts. A man named Bas Pinto, arrested on January 7, 1989 in Viqueque, was held for a month there, suspected of giving medicine to Fretilin.*

East Timorese can be arrested as a preventive measure, in anticipation of a demonstration or a visit by an important official, or afterwards, if demonstrations or other public expressions of discontent materialize. Even overnight detention is enough time for detainees to be subjected to cruel or degrading treatment: one man arrested in May was reportedly forced to eat his own excrement; students arrested in October were said to have been severely beaten. In March 1989, a British parliamentary delegation interviewed four Timorese prisoners in the Bekora prison, and all claimed they had been mistreated by the military shortly after their arrest. ** An arrest, even if the suspect is released days later for lack of evidence, appears to become a permanent taint and is likely to lead to heightened surveillance and increased likelihood of being included in the next round of preventive arrests.

Detention can be anywhere. The International Committee of the Red Cross has access to two prisons in Dili, Bekora and Comarca (Balide). But political detainees in Dili are rarely held there. Instead they are taken to the district or subdistrict military command or to any one of a variety of buildings and private residences including Wisma Senopati II, believed to be a military guesthouse; the headquarters of the Indonesian Special Forces (*Kopassus* or Red Berets) in the former home of one Dos Martires; and the homes of Chiquito Osorio, Labut Melo and Armindo Mariano. In outlying districts, military command posts seem to be the usual place of detention.

In September 1989, an Asia Watch source said he had gone to visit a group of East Timorese prisoners who had been released from Cipinang Prison in Jakarta on August 17. Since their return to Dili, they had been held in the Kolmera Military Prison, apparently for a kind of re-education. Among those in the Kolmera in September, according to this source, were Miguel da Costa, Antonio Eduardo, Antonio Ramos, Fernando Pinto, Jose Simaoes and Fernando da Costa.

There is strong reason to believe that neither international standards on human rights nor the safeguards contained in Indonesia's own Criminal Procedure Code are observed by Indonesian authorities in their treatment of East Timorese detainees. The treatment of Manuel Fatima de Jesus Gutteres is one example. He was taken from his home in Dili by four military officers on the evening of May 25, 1989 on suspicion of supplying Fretilin through a store he owned in Venilale. His wife reportedly was not told where he was being taken and was not allowed to see him in the period immediately following his detention. Arrest by military officers rather than the police and failure to inform the family of his whereabouts would both be in violation of the Criminal Procedure Code. It is unlikely that any of those arrested had access to counsel, as the only lawyers known to have served as defense counsel to detainees in East Timor are court-appointed and flown to Dili from West Timor shortly before trial. Without lawyers and without immediate access to family members, there are no safeguards against mistreatment and torture during interrogation.

Access to East Timor

One year after Presidential Decision (Keppres) No. 62/1988 officially "opened" East Timor to the outside world, travel within the country is still tightly restricted. Five of the territory's 13 districts are still off-limits to visitors. Bishop Paul Moore and his wife Brenda were stopped and questioned at six military checkpoints between Dili and Baucau in the east, a four-hour drive. Any East Timorese who leaves his or her place of residence for more than 24 hours must report to local authorities in the place they visit. A system of regular checking of identity cards (KTP) is in effect, and the head of the provincial police in Dili, Lt. Col. Ramli Surbakti, told *Kompas*, the Indonesian newspaper in November, "Eventually people will get used to it." When asked if the KTP checks were absolutely essential, the police chief said no, a person could go anywhere without a KTP if he were accompanied by a *babinsa*, a low-level noncommissioned officer.

As is clear from the above, freedoms of expression, movement and assembly, and the freedom not to be subjected to torture or arbitrary arrest remain non-existent in East Timor. ●

(From Injustice, Persecution, Eviction: a Human Rights Update On Indonesia and East Timor, pp 73-82)

LALEREK-MUTIN

THE PLIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF BIBILEO

Portraits of threat, terror, torture and massacre

TERESA AMARAL Of Bibileo
Age 27
Exiled to Lalerek-Mutin on 27/9/83

Teresa Amaral was taken to Lalerek Mutin after having been lost in a jungle of the region for one month after the bloody uprising at Craras staged by the Rate and Hansip people.

The uprising was a last recourse by men no longer able to bear seeing the constant and brutal abuses and violations of their wives and the other women of their villages by high-ranking officials of the Indonesian armed forces.

Teresa and her fellow fugitives, unable to withstand the hardships of starvation and disease which plagued them, were forced to surrender to the occupational forces. They did this in two groups.

One group gave themselves up in Viqueque and the other in Buikarin. Many from both groups were killed upon surrender. The ones at Buikarin were buried along the sandy banks of the We-Tuku river. Family and friends later tried to recover the bodies but found that flash floods had swept them out to the sea.

The ones who surrendered at Viqueque had their arms and legs bound and were buried alive at Sukaer-Oan, 10km South-West of Viqueque, in pits, the depth of one metre.

The survivors of the massacres were banished to Lalerek Mutin. Of these exiles most died of starvation, malaria, yellow-fever and the harsh conditions. According to statistics taken on 21/10/89 there are 1553 people remaining, 221 of whom have been widowed (30 men and 191 women).

CRISTINA BRANDAO of Bibileo
Age 26

Cristina Brandao suffered the same fate as Teresa. Both were separated from their husbands by the uprising at Craras.

Nothing is known of the whereabouts of Teresa's and Cristina's husbands, Olo-Caic and Delfin Rangel respectively.

If these two freedom fighters are still fighting with the guerrillas, they represent hope for the Timorese people but to their wives they only represent suffering.

Cristina and Teresa live at RK-II/RT-II at Lalerek Mutin on the south coast and are the constant victims of threat and violence by eight commandos (Nanggala, Indo.) and 5 TBOs, spies for the Indonesian Army.

The commandos are from the 2nd platoon of the 86th unit, the headquarters of which is situated in Baucau. The commandos and TBOs have committed violent crimes against Cristina and Teresa. They practically live at the houses of the women on the pretext that they are waiting to arrest Olo-Caic and Delfin Rangel upon their return.

At midnight on 26/3/90, the abovementioned commandos and 1 TBO, Paulo Miguel, an ex-prisoner at Atauro who was suspected of having been involved in the Craras uprising, went to Cristina's and Teresa's houses and not having sufficient excuse to violate them, invented a spectre which they said they had seen, by means of a flashlight, running from the direction of their houses towards the house of a neighbour, Joaquim Sarmento. They then ran out of the houses shouting that it must have been either Olo-Caic or Delfin Rangel.

JOAQUIM SARMENTO of Bibileo
Age 42
Exiled to Lalerek Mutin in 1983

Joaquim Sarmento is married to Cristina Soares and is the father of four children from a previous marriage to Abu-Olok. Joaquim lives at RK-V/RT-V.

The commandos broke into Joaquim's house to search for the bogus intruder and found his children Francisca, Mariano, Benedito and Rosita peeling the husks from their meagre supply of corn and their father sick in bed. They questioned the children about whether they had seen the intruder then, having received a negative reply, went to the bedroom where Joaquim was sleeping and questioned him. Asked whether he had seen the intruder, he answered no. Unsatisfied with this answer, the commandos dragged him from his bed to the house of the village Chief (Kepala Desa, Ind.), Domingos Soares Pinto.

As the Chief was at the time in Buikarin attending one of several regular seminars (Penataram, Ind.) on the P4 of the Indonesian Constitution (Pedoman, Penghayatan, Pengamalan, Pancasila, Ind.), the commandos took Joaquim to the post of the 408th battalion.

After further questioning, Joaquim was taken to the commandos' own post where he was interrogated and where they tried to force him to admit he had seen the intruder. As he maintained that he had seen nothing, he was punched and kicked with leather boots in the head and body with such savagery and cruelty that he collapsed. He was rendered unconscious and half dead. A few minutes after reviving him, they continued with the interrogation and torture. As he felt death approaching Joaquim agreed to make a false declaration.

He declared that on 24/3/90 when returning from the rice fields where he had been working, he had met Olo-Caic and another Fretilin freedom fighter. Olo-Caic, he stated, had wanted to give himself up, but had first wanted Joaquim to make a bargain with the Indonesian Forces at We-Todo, Hidar-Laran and We-Ai-Foun for his life and his safety.

On the morning of 27/3/90 the commandos forced Joaquim to go to the abovementioned posts and tell the officials there of Olo-Caic's imminent surrender. He was taken back and detained until the afternoon of 29/3/90.

ANTERO DE CARVALHO, a widower of Bibileo
Age 50
Exiled to Lalerek Mutin on 27/9/83

Antero lives at RK-VI/RT-VI and is the father of Joaquim Amaral, Maria da Costa and Martinho Gomes.

On 27/3/90 Joaquim, while going about his business of gathering bamboo containers left hanging with tua-aka, a local beverage of fermented palm sap, was accosted by commandos who told him to hand over the containers. He did so promptly.

At 1500 hours of the same day, Antero was called over to the unit headquarters of said commandos and was accused of having used his job as a cover for meeting Fretilin guerrillas in We-Todo. He, of course, could only tell them the truth, that he had only gone to We-Todo to collect tua-aka. Not believing his story, the commandos tortured him. They punched and kicked him brutally and when he still wouldn't comply and confess his crime, they burnt him with cigarette buts on the face, lips, chest, ears and genitals.

With spirit and body broken, Antero finally complied with the Indonesian commandos and confessed to having met four guerrillas, two of whom were armed, but that as the guerrillas only spoke the Dagada dialect and Antero only Tetum, they were unable to communicate effectively.

The guerrillas, Antero told his interrogators were heading towards the south coast.

Antero was then detained until the afternoon of 29/3/90.

SEBASTIAO DOS REIS

Sebastiao was accused of having received a rifle from the chief of his village. In fact, the chief had an airgun which Sebastiao knew nothing about.

For his suspected crime, Sebastiao was not questioned, but subjected to torture outright. The usual method of beating and kicking the victim until they were near death was employed on Sebastiao. He was then interrogated and when he refused to admit to having received the rifle was tortured again. To escape what he thought would be certain death, Sebastiao admitted to having received the rifle, then passing it on to a man from the same village named Candido Amaral. Sebastiao further declared that, with the help of Candido and the people listed below, he had sent ammunition, supplies of rice, medicine and clothing to the freedom fighters in the jungle.

1.	Fono-Loik	:	Lalerek-Mutin ,	RK-VI/RT-VI
2.	Fono-Gora	:	"	RK-VI/RT-VI
3.	Filomeno Brandao	:	"	RK-I/RT-I
4.	Filomeno Rangel	:	"	RK-III/RT-II
5.	Nahak-Siku	:	"	RK-II/RT-II

6.	Silvino	:	"	RK-II/RT-II
7.	Mateus	:	"	RK-II/RT-II
8.	Miguel Rangel	:	"	RK-IV/RT-IV
9.	Miguel Amaral	:	"	RK-IV/RT-IV
10.	Angela Rangel	:	"	RK-IV/RT-IV
11.	Angelina Rangel	:	"	RK-II/RT-II
12.	Celina Rangel	:	"	RK-II/RT-II

After obtaining the list, the commandos ceased their torture of Sebastiao. On 28/3/90 at 2300 hours they sent Candido Amaral.

CANDIDO AMARAL of Bibileo
Age 39
Exiled to L-M on 27/9/83

Candido was the husband of Lucilia and the father of Balbina 21, Angelina 15, Marcelino 12, Rui 10 and Marta 8 and lived at RK-II.

On the strength of the confession of Sebastiao dos Reis, the commandos were able to arrest Candido Amaral. Sebastiao was forced to question Candido while the Indonesians tortured him.

From what has been gathered, the questioning took the form of something to this effect:-

Sebastiao: *What have you done with the rifle I gave you?*

Candido: *I have never received a rifle from you.*

Sebastiao: *The rifle given me by the Chief.*

Candido: *To the best of my knowledge, for the four years that he has held his post, the Chief has never had arms of any sort in his possession.*

The TBO, Paulo Miguel, hated for his crimes against the people of Viqueque, then proceeded to torture Candido. He was punched, kicked, stamped on, burnt with cigarette butts and picked up and thrown to the ground until he became unconscious. When he revived himself, they questioned him again but Candido maintained his innocence.

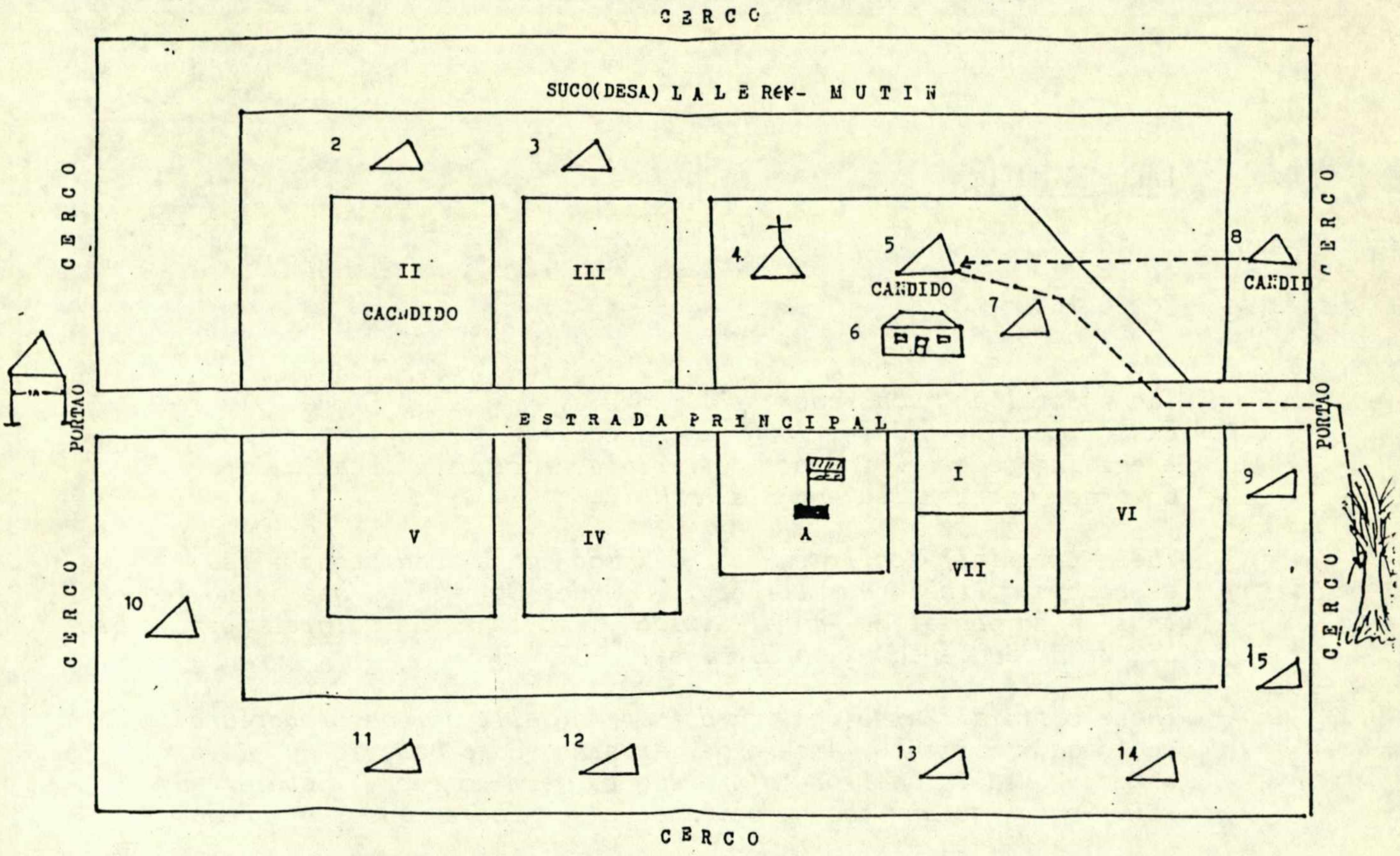
Frustrated by his determination not to confess to a crime he had not committed, the commandos resumed their torture by burning his genitals with cigarette butts.

On 29/3/90 at 0500 hours Candido was dragged to Tua-Metan and executed by firing squad. He was shot so many times that parts of his body disintegrated.

The following are the map and legend of Lalerek Mutin.

The map shows where Candido was working (Fig 8) before being called to the post of the commandos and the route by which he was taken to Tua-Metan.

The tree represents Tua-Metan which is south of Lalerek Mutin and 200m from the coast.


CERCO
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12
13
14
CERCO

LEGEND

1	Main Civil Surveillance Post
2 & 3	Nocturnal Civil Surveillance Posts
4	Church
5	Commando Post
6	State Primary School
7	Post of the 408th Battalion
8-15	Nocturnal Civil Surveillance Posts
A	Administration Building (Kantor Desa, Indo.)
I	RK-I
II	RK-II
III	RK-III
IV	RK-IV
V	RK-V
VI	RK-VI
VII	RK-VII

LALEREK-MUTIN

Postcript

The Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Philip Flood, visited East Timor 3 - 6 July, 1990 and raised the allegations in the preceding report with local officials, including local military, Governor Carrascalao and Bishop Belo.

These officials confirmed that Candido Amaral had been killed as reported, that the military commander Col Warouw had acknowledged this by compensating Amaral's widow, and that the soldier responsible had been 'punished' with dismissal.

These officials also confirmed that the allegations of torture on Joaquim Sarmento, Antero de Carvalho and Sebastiao dos Reis, as mentioned in the foregoing report, were correct. Nothing was said as to whether the perpetrator(s) of these abuses of human rights had been disciplined.

These official admissions are to be welcomed as is the official acknowledgement that wrong has been done and merits punishment. There have been few, if any, such admissions of wrongdoing in the past even though it is abundantly clear there will be no substantial improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor until the perpetrators of abuses are subjected to due process and punished appropriately.

Whether this admission in the case of Lalerek Mutin represents a genuine change of policy or is only a response to a particular case, it is difficult to say. The lightness of the punishment of Candido Amaral's killer, viz mere dismissal from the ranks, and the lack of any evidence that the torturers of Amaral's fellow villagers have been charged, or tried in open court and punished, suggests however that the official response was determined by public relations considerations rather than a determined policy that the rule of law must prevail in East Timor, that the military are not exempted from its provisions, and that justice must not only be done but be seen to be done.

GOING OUTSIDE TO SPEAK FOR THEM

A refugee's account of what she learnt during a return visit to East Timor in 1989.

65 Upward St
Leichhardt
NSW 2040
Australia

31st July 1990

Attn: HUMAN RIGHTS SUB-COMMITTEE
GENEVA

Re: ATTACHED TESTIMONY OF "JACINTA"

Dear Sub-Committee Members,

Attached is some of the edited transcript of a taped interview I conducted in June 1990 with a woman who spent several weeks in East Timor in mid 1989. A quiet, conservative and religiuos woman, "Jacinta" was deeply upset when speaking about this visit. She met and spoke with two men who had been recently tortured.

"Jacinta" showed me many photos she took in East Timor. Now an Australian citizen, she was born and grew to adulthood in Portuguese Timor, so can contrast her pre-1975 life there with her 1989 visit.

Because friends and relatives inside East Timor, who in 1989 spoke openly to her, may be compromised, and also because she wants to visit again, "Jacinta" does not wish to use her name. The names or any identifying information of others she speaks of are also expunged.

I am a writer whose grandfather was an Australian soldier kept alive by Timorese during WW2. The attached is one of many interviews to be included in my non-fiction book "Timor Lest/e".

Yours sincerely,

Michele Turner.

Michele Turner

"Jacinta"

I am an Australian citizen who has been in Australia since 1975 and now that East Timor is open I returned to visit in the middle of 1989.

I cannot sleep there in Timor. I cry at night when I think of my friends and when I come back here too. There I was often very frightened because others there had such fear. I speak to you because they tell me to, when I go outside to speak for them.

One of my aunts, a woman in her forties, talked to me and we cry together. Indonesians tie her hands with wire and hang her up high, her whole weight hanging from her hands, sometimes all night. They burn her with cigarettes. Nearly a month they keep her in prison.

They want her to tell where some young relations are, whether she sends medicine or food to them in the bush. She doesn't even know if they are still alive. She is lucky she says that she didn't have the electric shock. Many had that and she heard terrible screams.

In Dili they showed me a small new house with little windows high up. The Intel use there for interrogation. It's in Comera near what was Francisco Babo's house.

When I visit friends of friends one man comes to their house and he cannot walk properly. He walks on the outside of his feet. People there whisper to me that he had just come out two days from that Intel centre. I ask and he shows me the soles of his feet and his hands all covered with white burn marks. I cannot accept these things. I start to cry.

I ask what he did, help the people in the bush, but he says no. Because he heard a cousin died in Portugal he has a special Mass said for the soul. Intel hurt him because they say for this he wants the Portuguese back.

Later another family I go to visit the man who was quite young, maybe in his forties. He had come out after one month from that Intel centre and his hair was white, gone white at the roots from the electric shock. Now he looked very old, that poor man.

Many many whisper to me what they do to our people: beat and put in the tank of water all night; give electric shock on the tongue and the genitals, women too, yes, throw water and then put electricity; give no food and if you ask for water, put urine to your mouth.

One dear friend I grew up with and knew very well. She was so badly tortured, after from the shock they tell me she could not speak. A few months later she just died, never speaking, four years before I came, so in 1985.

Friends told me that in Sept. 1983 many people were killed from Kraras near Viqueque. Celestino dos Anjos who helped Australians was one of them. From one big group then only one woman survived. She was pregnant and wounded she hid among the dead bodies of her friends. Her child was born and lived too and my friends had a picture of them both. But I could not go to that area in 1989 it was closed by the military.

One friend told me that Timorese were afraid to go to the hospital in Dili. They have no confidence in the treatment there, because of the poisonings.

At first it was a Timorese nurse there who was surprised that so many babies kept dying over some months. One Indonesian doctor, a good person, found out that the babies and small children were being poisoned, given poisoned medicine. Two hundred died they say.

That doctor told the Governor who went to Jakarta and complained and after that two Indonesian doctors were sent away.

People honoured that Indonesian doctor who found out the truth. They started to guard around his house because they feared for him, that other Indonesians would want to finish with him too.

It was because of the birth control people say, Indonesia has a programme and is unhappy that Timorese don't want only two children but as many as God gives. We are a nuisance to them and they want to finish with all Timorese people and bring in their own to our country.

There are other fears too, that injections which they say are innoculations to guard against disease are really injections to make the young people infertile as part of the birth control programme .

Now those who can afford the medicine just get the Timorese nurse to make a home visit, they don't let their family go near the hospital.

One friend of the family was in prison for many years because at first he was Fretilin. His sister says she saved his life with a cake. In prison they were giving him some poison slowly in his food and one soldier tells her and that she should try to bribe to save him.

She has no money but she gives one antique plate and makes a beautiful caramel cake for the commander and after that her brother gets an injection to make him well and shortly after is let free. Now he is still free but has amnesia and is sick from his head being beaten and the prison treatment.

What surprised me most in Timor was no birds. Before we had an ugly bird we called "ca coa" because that was the noise it made. Every morning at 4am that bird would sing, we call it the Timorese clock, to wake you. Never one all the weeks I was there! The fat pigeons we used to eat I saw none, you heard them cooing before now no. In the afternoons no flocks of cockatoos come. Also the monkeys, travelling from Manatutu to Baucau always we used to see them running on the road, now none.

Everywhere along the roads in the east were cemetaries, many many that were never there before. The graves are of my people, so so many dead in these last years. Not only those killed but so many who die because they get sick without enough food and they cannot afford medicine and they die. If they can the family bury the body properly with a marker. Many of course they cannot.

Baucau I hardly knew, so dirty and dilapidated and so strange, no water! Before there were always streams from springs, clean water wet or dry season, yes. Water flowed through the town over rocks, always the sound of water there, now nothing. I ask my friends where the water has gone and they just shrug.

In a new higher suburb of Baucau twice a day a truck comes and people must buy water and keep it in a container because until next time the truck comes there is no more. You cannot go looking for water, no. From 5pm until 8am the next day you cannot leave the town.

Since I think maybe the water goes because the trees are cut. The Indonesians everywhere I saw had cut the big wood trees, the teak, the rosewood, and with the sandalwood they even take the stumps out for the sandal oil. I don't think they plant others no, they just want the money quickly.

Indonesians are also mining and taking away the marble at Subao. There is pink, white and black marble there.

At Tutuala at the very Eastern tip of Timor there is a small monument of stones with lines by a famous Portuguese poet Luis Camoe~s , they say, "In Portugal Timor sees the sun first each new day."

I was surprised to see that Indonesians had left that stone because the big village of traditional stilt houses of Tutuala was gone completely, bombed my friends said. A low wall where you look out over the sea there was full of bullet holes. I was told that many many Timorese stood on that wall and were machine gunned to fall below.

So many towns everywhere which used to be clean and the buildings white-washed look dirty, with green mould on the walls and the gardens not neat; at Maubisse (there it is cool and there used to be many roses before, not now), Ailieu, Ossu, Baucau, Viqueque, Venilale.

Besides Dili, the only town I saw which looked neat like before was Same, they said the Indonesian major there was a clean person, but most places were a disgrace and inside hotels or houses the military used was a mess. Indonesians had taken out the showers and proper toilets and put in containers of water and all I saw were filthy.

One good bridge I saw they say Australin money built it. People tell me everywhere that aide money from Japan, from France, from West Germany built this piece of road or bridge, not Indonesia.

On the Lois river plain they have settled half a million Indonesians who came in boatloads in 1988 after a storm or earth quake on one of their islands.

When I was in the east, twice a day two Indonesian jets would fly over looking. To me it was very frightening when they came. There were military helicopters at the airport. Holiday films developed in Timor had the pictures I took of military aircraft missing. ●

Marginalised and militarised...

Excerpts from accounts by tourists

September 1989

I went to East Timor 1-11 September 1989.....

A great concern, widely articulated, was the blatantly obvious marginalisation of the East Timorese in their own country. This starts with the taxi drivers who either seem to be from Sulawesi or West Timor, but are rarely East Timorese, and the warung (stall) owners, down to shop keepers (Chinese from Surabaya)... The Hotel Turismo is now owned by an Indonesian. The new Vice Governor is Indonesian. Even relations between Indonesian and Timorese Catholics is strained and lack of mutual trust is a big problem. One of the clergy put it this way, 'They are probably here to spy on us. Our mentality, our perspective on life is so totally different from theirs; we are totally incompatible'.

... The bus drive to Suai took about 10 hours... Timor from the bus window seemed like one mass grave. Massive, large wooden crosses on top of hill crests, in the villages, on wind-swept plains. In Maubisse the crosses seemed to be piled on top of each other and reaching out into the road. It seems there must have been heavy fighting.

In Zumalai, the bus stopped and I took the opportunity to talk to some children and their mothers. It turned out these were Balinese transmigrants from the transmigration sites in Belo and Zumalai. A little further I saw the first Balinese-style temples at the edge of rice paddies.

The road to Zumalai and Beco (and I have lived for years in the highlands of Papua New Guinea) was really bad and so full of atrocious potholes you could not faster than 25/30 k, so don't take too much notice of Indonesia's claims of 'development' of the Portugal's badly neglected former colony: certainly no visitble development down in the south in the form of bridges, roads or even the simplest form of road maintenance.

A Timorese tried to explain the significance of the dances to me, lamenting that Timor had lost all its culture, music, dances, and old people who would be able to remember the meaning and the words of their traditional heritage. Everything had been lost in the war, their statues, jewellery, traditional houses, the very fabric of the clans and tribes. Knowledge (medical, taboos, songs, kinship, ancestry etc) had been the property of individuals who were no longer there to pass it on to the next generation. He was right.

The Suai region suffers poverty and hunger, with people coming to the church begging for food and although the area is rife with malaria there is no medicine to prevent it.

One afternoon, a group of six businessmen from Melbourne arrived to inspect the beaches of Dili for potential tourist development. They had their eyes on the lovely white sands of Dili's most famous beach - areia branca - where they want to buy land to set up an enormous hotel complex. Elegant looking Chinese businessmen from Surabaya were conducting the negotiations regarding Timorese land.... The ones you never saw were the Timorese people handling their own affairs, being involved in business or determining their own future and prosperity. This question of the marginalisation of the native people of East Timor in their own country cannot be emphasised enough.

APRIL, 1990

'There is reason to believe that there is much killing taking place in Suro between Bobonaro and Ainaro.

I first heard that a military action was taking place from an aid official in West Timor who warned me that they 'had to get military clearance in order to visit Bobonaro (over the border in East Timor) because a couple of soldiers had been killed and there was a big military operation going on'.

On 23 April, another tourist and myself travelled up to Bobonaro from Maliana for the purpose of walking across the mountains from Bobonaro to Ainaro via Suro. We travelled on the back of a truck with some locals. When they heard of our plans they told us the following: 'You cannot go to Ainaro (I think they meant the kabupaten rather than the town), the military are killing many people there'.

I asked how many people had been killed this year. 'More than 100. Three Indonesian soldiers had their throats cut on Good Friday (13 April) and Unit 712 from Manado had killed many people in Lour including many women and children'.

I asked how many since Easter and the answer was, 'More than 100'.

The people said that Unit 712 was terribly bad, that there were often massacres of 14, 12 , 8 people etc. The Manado Unit (Sulawesi) had been stationed at Bobonaro for 1 month.

(During his journey from Bobonaro to Suro, a short distance, the tourist encountered no less than 5 military checkpoints).

About 10 km from Zumalai, we passed about 300 foot soldiers, Unit 741 from Bobonaro, all with guns....

Comment

The above account has been made known to the Australian Government whose Ambassador to Indonesia, Philip Flood, checked it with local officials during a visit to East Timor 3-6 July. According to these officials the reports were 'baseless'.

THE AGE, Monday 28 August 1989

4 —

JOURNEY TO EAST TIMOR

Former Portuguese colony is a test case for Jakarta's policy of national integration

Indonesian army tries to win support of villagers

Fourteen years after Fretilin guerillas fled into the hills, they remain a problem for the Indonesian authorities. **LINDSAY MURDOCH** reports from Dili that East Timor's military commanders are responding with the deployment of thousands of security forces and a campaign to win the "hearts and minds" of the people.

A 10-metre-high monument depicting an East Timorese warrior breaking free of the shackles of colonialism stands in a park just off the Dili waterfront where Indonesian troops landed in 1975.

Indonesian guides tell visitors to the city that the "integration momument" is not to be missed.

It takes some furtive researching in Dili to discover remnants of Portugal's 450 years of colonial rule: a Portuguese kitchen tucked away behind the beachfront Hotel Turismo, which serves chilled Portuguese wine and authentic cuisine. But many people in Dili say that the 5000 people waiting for word on their applications to emigrate to Portugal are clinging to a dark past that should be discarded.

According to the Government of Indonesia's 27th province, only five per cent of East Timor's 666,000 people now speak Portuguese and only 20 per cent can understand it.

The policy of the central Government in Jakarta is to develop one country, one nation and one language (Bahasa Indonesia).

Outside schools, I see children of the Tetun tribe standing reverently before the red and white flag called "Sang Saka Merah Putih" and I see civil servants, who 15 years ago fought for the resistance group Fretilin, wearing the blue batik shirts that signify membership of Korpri, the organisation for civil servants. Each day they line up in the street outside Government offices to receive their instructions. Welcome to Indonesia.

Deep within the mountains of East Timor, Xanana Gusmao, about 45, receives frequent messages, some dropped from helicopter gunships and others sent via his relatives in Dili, to woo him down from the jungle. Even the Fretilin leader, despised by Indonesian military leaders and described by them as a coward, is being offered his freedom in return for peace.

"If Xanana gives himself up, I will ask him to tell the others to come from the jungle as well," said a senior Indonesian army officer. "I would show him what we are doing for the people. And maybe I would fix him up with a job."

But Xanana, said by the Indonesian military to have got his "communist ideas" while working as a laborer in Australia, remains in the mountains where Fretilin conducts a guerilla war against Indonesia.

Despite massive investments in schools, clinics and roads, Indonesia's rule in East Timor is an uneasy one, evidenced by the deployment of a 13,000-strong police, military and civil defence force and the public demand by the head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Belo, for a referendum to decide the province's future. And military officers remain frustrated by the guerilla resistance.

As far as military analysts know, Fretilin, the Portuguese acronym for Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, has never received foreign arms. It does not have a foreign backer. But 14 years after it fled into the hills outside Dili, carrying most of the Portuguese arsenal, it remains a niggling threat. The army claims that Fretilin has only 200 armed fighters and is near elimination. It claims that captured Fretilin documents reveal that Fretilin itself believes it will not be in existence after 1990. But a Fretilin supporter who lives in East Timor claims the resistance is at least 2000 strong and "will go on fighting for another 10 years".

East Timor is a test case for Indonesia's cornerstone policy of national integration of the vast archipelago. The recent past has been tragic for the people of East Timor and much bitterness remains: the Indonesian-appointed provincial Governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, says that since 1975 "tens of thousands" of people have died in fighting and from starvation and illness.

The leftist Fretilin was, in 1975, made up mainly of young intellectuals who wanted full and immediate independence. They unilaterally declared the Democratic Republic of East Timor after gaining the upper hand in a civil war with integration supporters. But Indonesia launched a full-scale attack and Fretilin fled to the mountains.

Whatever Fretilin's strength today, it still worries troops stationed in the central east of East Timor. Eight months after the Indonesian President, Mr Suharto, authorised the opening of East

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Timor, giving it the same status as other provinces, five eastern regions that make up more than half of its land are still restricted to foreigners.

I passed at least six military checkpoints on the three-hour drive east from Dili to the coastal town of Baucau. The military has built lookouts on the main mountain ridges. The provincial Government blames the restrictions on a lack of facilities, but it is in these areas that Fretilin is active.

As truckloads of soldiers patrol the perilous mountain roads and others scour the jungle, keeping the main Fretilin group on the move, Indonesian military commanders are launching a new campaign to win the "hearts and minds" of the East Timorese people. The Indonesian soldiers, who stand accused of atrocities by human rights groups such as Amnesty International, are trying to buy support form the villagers. They are installaing television antennas in some isolated areas; TV sets are supplied courtesy of the military commander.

The soldiers are building roads and helping villagers use modern techniques for fishing and crop cultivation. They are promoting tribal cultures by sometimes providing cash prizes to the best traditional dancers.

"The people are realising that Fretilin is deceiving them. They no longer believe Fretilin's propaganda. They see what we are doing and support us," the army officer said in an authorised briefing in Dili.

The military calls the campaign "abri rakyat nanunggal", which means unity of the armed forces and the people. The military officer explained it using a water and fish analogy. The water is the people and the fish are the soldiers. To survive, the fish need the water for sustenance and a means of travel. The officer said: "For the army to survive, it must have the support of the people."

The campaign appears to be gaining impetus from the pace of development. Indonesian officials attribute the doubling of coffee crops and the trebling of rice and maize harvests to better cultivation techniques, irrigation and fertilisers. The incomes of fishermen are said to be rising by six per cent a year.

In 1974, the year Portugal withdrew, the per capita income in East Timor was about $50 a year. It is now more than $250. The Portuguese left with 92 per cent of the people illiterate. The figure is now 48 per cent. The province has 559 primary schools, 81 junior high schools, 34 senior high schools and a university.

Boruma, three kilometres east of Baucau, is considered by Indonesian authorities to be a model village of 2248 people. It is protected by a police sergeant and an Indonesian soldier, who live in the village, has a school and a clinic with access to a doctor and electricity. The village head, Mr Dominggos Da Costa, says the Portuguese did nothing for his people. "Indonesia has done more for us in the past 12 years than Portugal did in 450."

Asked whether the people are better off under Indonesian rule, Bishop Belo said it was difficult to say. "There is more money now but the difference between the rich and the poor is more visible. There are Timorese enjoying a new prosperous life and there are Timorese living in miserable conditions. It is a reality that Indonesia is putting more money into East Timor."

Fretilin soldiers celebrate a victory over supporters of integration with Indonesia in Dili, capital of East Timor, in 1975.

The average life expectancy in East Timor is 42 years, a dozen years shorter than in other Indonesian provinces. Infant mortality is more than twice as high as in other provinces, according to statistics released last year by the United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs. A missionary said that while there were enough doctors and nurses, medicines were not provided free of charge as they were by Portugal. "Many people cannot afford the medicine," he said. Missionaries warn that there are few jobs for educated teenagers, many of whom are reluctant to work in the fields. Hundreds of people are living in appalling poverty on the outskirts of Dili, a sleepy city of 100,000 people on a cove surrounded by mountains.

Missionaries say that new settlers from other parts of Indonesia, mainly Sulawesi, are starting to dominate enterprises and markets. "The people from the local tribes cannot compete. They do not know how," a Catholic priest said. "In some ways, development and exposure to outside forces is coming too quickly."

The provincial Government gives priority to Timorese companies when awarding contracts. The Catholic Church, which exerts the single biggest influence on the people — 92 per cent of them are Catholic — is worried that the opening of the province will bring with it Islam, the religion of 90 per cent of Indonesians. A mosque has been built in Dili. The priest admits: "We are quite afraid. Some of the Muslims here are militant." Bishop Belo said that Islam was not growing visibly "but around the edges". The church says that one of the biggest problems brought by the Indonesian officials is corruption. Bishop Belo said: "Our Timorese people are now learning it, even our traditional chiefs in the villages." Mr Carrascalao, the Governor, a Catholic Timorese appointed in 1982, has the power to veto civil service appointments made in Jakarta and often exercises it.

"I think that most of these people sent here in the past were undesirable people in the departments . . . so they were sent here as a kind of punishment. Not everyone of course, but it does not happen now," Mr Carrascalao said.

Several years ago, Mr Carrascalao took action to stop a racket in which people wanting to emigrate had to pay bribes to Indonesian officials. He said that when in the past he heard reports of people being mistreated by the military, he had complained to the military commander in Dili or in Jakarta. He said in June he complained when 27 people were detained illegally for more than 48 hours. "Any time I get a report from the people that there is an army man mistreating anybody, whether they are from Fretilin or not, I send a letter to the military commander . . . the matter is investigated whether it is true or not and, if it is, action is taken."

Mr Carrascalaos said the biggest problem facing East Timor was a shortage of skilled manpower. This will become acute as companies explore the region's mineral deposits. Of the 12,000 civil servants, only "about 3000 can work appropriately", he said.

Mr Carrascalao admitted that some Timorese people were having trouble adapting to a new way of life under Indonesian rule, but said that most people did not think about or care who was in power. "The young people believe they are Indonesian," he said.

The stand of Bishop Belo, who was born in East Timor, has polarised the Catholic Church in East Timor. A Catholic priest in Dili said that Bishop Belo could not accept the fact that the Indonesians had lifted the standards of living and were not going to go away.

Bishop Belo replied: "Okay, if we are called unrealistic, we accept it. But the problem is that nobody is happy with the situation here."

Army still strikes fear in villages

SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST

12/08/89

EAST TIMOR

DESPITE improved facilities provided by Indonesia, East Timorese are still in fear of her army, reports DANNY GITTINGS.

IN a small restaurant in a tiny town on the little half-island of East Timor, a young man loudly extolled the benefits Indonesian rule had brought to the former Portuguese colony.

They had built paved roads, as well as schools and medical clinics in even the smallest settlements, he told the single foreigner present, watched by an audience of off-duty soldiers.

But later, in a deserted barn away from prying eyes, the same Timorese worker added a much more cautionary footnote. "Indonesia has brought us many good things but we are all still afraid of her army," he said.

More than a decade after Jakarta invaded and annexed East Timor, fear and tension are still widely apparent in this troubled tropical enclave.

An on-going war between soldiers and separatist Fretilin rebels overshadows life there, while renewed religious opposition to Indonesian rule has scorched church-state relations in the run-up to an historic Papal visit.

Jakarta claims life in the province is hardly affected by the continuing conflict, and – as if to prove this – earlier in the year opened East Timor to unsupervised visits by foreigners for the first time since occupying it in 1975.

Visitors to the provincial capital of Dili now see a pleasant well-ordered town, apparently untouched by fighting, where the availability of western consumer goods gives a hint of newly-found prosperity.

However two-thirds of East Timor is located east of Dili, and a week-long journey through these areas on local buses produced a very different picture of life in the enclave.

The military presence rapidly became more apparent. Local police said there were 1,200 soldiers based in the small town of Baucau, 100 kilometres east of Dili, part of an estimated 10,000 troops on the island.

Indonesians appeared uneasy travelling here and, in the small settlement of Los Palos, 50 kilometres further east, they advised strongly against travelling out of town after dark because of rebel activity.

Two minibus drivers resisted all attempts to charter their vehicles to continue on to the hamlet of Tutuila at the far tip of the island, insisting the route was too dangerous.

And a colleague who eventually agreed to go there posted a look-out on the roof to keep watch for guerillas in the hills nearby.

Like many villages in the remoter areas of East Timor, today's Tutuila is a modern settlement built on high ground – in this case seaside cliffs – as part of a government resettlement scheme to isolate locals from the rebels.

A villager said they were forcibly evicted from its former site – a few kilometres away in the forest – by the army in 1982, and that those who refused to move were killed.

Amid the ruins of the old Tutuila only gravestones could still be seen standing – a sight almost as common as houses in this part of the enclave, and a sombre reminder of the huge number of victims during the 14-year-long conflict.

Historians and aid workers believe at least 100,000 people died from famine and fighting in the aftermath of the 1975 invasion, a figure which Jakarta has always vigorously denied.

Human rights groups accused Indonesian soldiers of carrying out "a hidden holocaust" during the earlier years of the conflict and, although such allegations are rarer today, a strong fear of the military was still visible among many local people.

"I know that some people are still afraid of the army," conceded East Timor's newly-appointed deputy governor, Dr A.B. Saridjo. "But they have no reason to be. The army came here to develop our province."

He confirmed that villagers are still being resettled away from areas of guerilla activity.

About 200 families were due to be moved later this year to the town of Likuisa, west of Dili, he said. Many of them are from the eastern end of the enclave, where priests and villagers have reported several instances of fighting in recent months.

Indonesian officials have said that the guerillas are poorly-equipped jungle bandits fighting for survival. But a former fighter, who is close to senior figures in the East Timorese Government, gave a very different account of life in the rebel camps.

He said Fretilin were still highly-disciplined, lived in semi-permanent forest settlements complete with schools, and were well-armed with weapons captured from Indonesian soldiers.

Although still led by their veteran leader, Xanana Gusmao, aged 41, most of his estimated 500 to 1,000 followers are from a different generation. "Many of them are youngsters who grew up fighting and see no alternative but to continue the war," said Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of Dili, who recently held abortive contacts with Fretilin to convey a government offer of an amnesty.

Following the failure of his mediation effort, Bishop Belo made a bitter attack on Indonesia's refusal to hold a referendum over the territory's future, in a letter to UN Secretary General Peres de Cuellar.

According to human rights sources it led Major Prabowo, an army commander in East Timor and son-in-law of Indonesia's President, to accuse the church of being a main source of opposition to Jakarta's control of the island.

The controversy has overshadowed preparations for Pope John Paul II's groundbreaking trip to the enclave in October, and sparked off disputes about his itinerary there.

Analysts say Jakarta hopes the visit will encourage more widespread acceptance of her sovereignty there, since the issue remains an obstacle to Indonesia's efforts to play an active role in world affairs.

Although Indonesia's Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani has predicted it will take years to defeat the remaining rebels, one government official in Dili privately expressed a very different opinion. "We could crush them in a month if the army wanted to," he said.

But with some in the armed forces – as well as most of the guerillas – apparently reluctant to see an early end to the conflict, East Timor's long agony appears far from over.

THE AGE, 14 OCTOBER 1989

East Timor divided on worth of military

By LINDSAY MURDOCH,
Dili

SEVERAL hours' drive east of Dili, the capital of East Timor, an Indonesian soldier raised his M-16 automatic rifle and opened fire on a bird in flight this week.

The use of such a powerful weapon of war for sport in what could be an idyllic tropical playground just more than an an hour's flight from northern Australia, seemed incongruous. It also illustrated what the Catholic Church of East Timor is complaining about: the overbearing, omnipresence of the military among people who remained largely forgotten and neglected by their Portuguese rulers for more than 400 years.

"The military are everywhere," the Bishop of Dili, Monsignor Carlos Belo, complained last Monday. This includes at his front gate.

The military officers who had to deal with an independence protest at a mass before Pope John Paul on Thursday used only as much force as about 20 protesters were using against them. But the incident — described as insignificant by Indonesian officials — focused international attention on the church's claims about the military.

A letter written by a man who claimed to journalists in Dili this week that he represented an underground independence movement, said, in part: "The violence and injustice used by the Indonesian secret police violate all the principles of the universal declaration of human rights."

Indonesia, which invaded East Timor in 1975 after Portugal withdrew, says there are 13,000 police, military and civil defence personnel in East Timor. It says there are only about 200 armed fighters of the resistance group Fretilin. In the countryside east of Dili, where Fretilin rebels are concentrated — there appear to be as many soldiers on patrol as there are in parts of Afghanistan or Cambodia.

The Governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, said this week that the military presence to contain what he called the "remnants" of Fretilin was "more than we need". But Mr Carrascalao, a Timorese credited with doing much to root out corruption among public officials, said the province needed the military's manpower to build infrastructure.

"We still do not have enough skilled manpower to solve the problems of East Timor," he said. Mr Carrascalao said the military does not only provide security. "They have to help villagers. They build churches, bridges, roads . . . they do a lot of things," he said.

Indonesia has indeed built many churches, schools, clinics, bridges and roads. While extreme poverty still exists, missionaries say that the people are generally better off than they were under Portuguese rule.

Away from the clamor of the Pope's visit, I talked yesterday to a missionary opposed to the call of Bishop Belo for the East Timorese to be given a vote on their future, on the grounds that it had raised "unrealistic expectations". He said that sections of the military undertaking a campaign to win the "hearts and minds" of the people were having "limited success".

But he said: "The military's intense psychological pressure on the people — everthing has to be done the Indonesian way — is fuelling dissent. If Indonesia is right in what it says and the rebel element is small, it is time to lift its heavy boot."

‘History has dealt a cruel hand. Much blood has been spilt’

The Australian
21-22 October
1989

The slow taming of Timor

East Timor remains under the power of the Indonesian gun. But as the military intelligence arm watches everywhere for those who might secretly support the resistance, Jakarta is trying to improve relations with the people. Foreign affairs writer ROY ECCLESTON reports from Jakarta

THE garden behind the barbed-wire topped fence is an oasis in dry and dusty Dili. Its mango trees are laden with fruit, the frangipanis explode with scent and colour.

It is a place to reflect on the harsh land outside, from the towering peak of Mate Bian (Mountain of the Dead) in the east where the guerillas fight the Indonesians, to the dry scrubby lowlands where the poor struggle to survive.

It is the garden of Bishop Carlos Belo, apostolic administrator of the Catholic Church in East Timor. As he sits on the steps beneath the mango trees, lost in thought on this sunny morning, so perhaps it was before he took the controversial step earlier this year in appealing to the United Nations to help his people.

In a bold move, the young East Timorese bishop wrote a letter calling for a referendum on independence, saying "we are dying as a people and as a nation".

From the UN he has had no reply. But the Indonesian military and political leaders have not been silent. They say he does not speak for the people of East Timor.

The problem, says the Church, is that many of the people are too frightened to speak for themselves. As one priest explained: "People are very much afraid."

Just along the street from the Bishop's home, four old Portugese cannons point uselessly into the sparkling harbour, rusty reminders of 350 years of colonial rule.

But the artillery on the bow of the Indonesian landing craft offshore is evidence that for East Timor the power of the gun remains.

East Timor may have a local, Mr Mario Carrascalao, as its Governor, but it is the Indonesian army, which invaded in 1975, that still runs this land of 600,000 people.

Its combat troops — 5000 says one officer, perhaps 9000 say observers — fight the guerillas in the mountains in the east; another 12,000 to 15,000 military and militia are involved in a more general security, social and construction role; and the military intelligence arm watches everywhere for those who might secretly support the resistance.

And 14 years later the Indonesians are still resisted. The "men of the forests", or the "men of the mountains", continue their campaign. Led by Xanano Gusmao, they number anywhere between the Indonesian estimate of 200 up to 1000. Regardless of the figures, they have no chance of winning.

Although the United Nations still recognises Portugal as the administering authority, Indonesia is here to stay.

But whatever the untapped oil riches offshore in the Timor Gap, it was not for any wealth in this hard and unforgiving land that the Indonesians came, and will remain.

It was, and is, the need to control a potential troublespot in its vast and disparate archipelago.

The question now is not whether the Indonesians allow East Timor political indepenence, but how much freedom of thought, speech, action, culture, and language they are permitted as they are absorbed increasingly into an Indonesian system that seeks unity out of diversity.

History has dealt East Timor a cruel hand. Much blood has been spilt. First came the Portuguese, who traded with the island before setting up a base in 1633. They did nothing for the people, and were merciless if crossed.

World War II brought the Japanese and Australians to fight it out. By the end of the war, locals say, just three buildings were left standing in Dili, the capital.

In 1975, after upheavals at home, the Portugese pulled out of East Timor, leaving a power vacuum and competing political groups — Fretilin which wanted independence, UDT which wanted independence with help from Portugal, and Apodeti, which favoured independence through integration with Indonesia.

War erupted after the UDT staged a coup. Fretilin fought back and won, leaving several thousand dead. On December 7, 1985, claiming support from UDT and Apodeti, Indonesian troops invaded Dili, and a few days later the second largest town, Baucau.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Indonesian armed forces, General Benny Murdani, admits that one of the main reasons for the Indonesian action was a security concern, based on the fear that a Fretilin victory would produce a radical left-wing government in the middle of the archipelago.

General Murdani, one of the key organisers of the Indonesian invasion, says that Indonesia had to enter because if it did not, another communist power to the north would have.

"What could we do, let them go alone? That is the question. Would you leave the people of East Timor just to their fate?"

The crushing of opposition was brutal. Indonesian military officers now stationed in East Timor admit this, while quickly adding that all that was five or 10 years ago. Yet some of those same officers — the head of military intelligence, Colonel Bimo, for example — were there at that time.

Now, they say, the fight is on two fronts: against the guerillas, and to win over the people.

Fighting on the first is KOOPSKAM, the East Timor Special Operational Command, unique in Indonesia. Observers estimate it has up to a dozen fighting battalions. There are also three platoons of special force commandos, sources say.

It seems an inordinate number to deal with what the Indonesians claim to be 200 Fretilin armed with 170 guns. Even more so when the military in Timor say the guerillas are low in morale and could be finished off in a year. This year they claimed to have killed more than 60, and captured 24, for the loss of only two troops.

To show they are winning, the Indonesian military produced 16 Fretilin they claimed to have captured or who had surrendered — proof, they claim, that they do not kill those who give up.

However, even in a private interview, translated by Catholic nuns, it would be stretching credulity to believe these men could speak openly. Only one had seen the Red Cross. And their estimates of guerilla numbers were higher than the Indonesian figures — more than 500 in 1987, said one, perhaps less now.

Another had fought since 1975.

Why? "The chiefs told them they had to fight so one day you will be free, to run your own country," say the nuns.

Do they still believe the cause? "They obeyed to fight in order to have freedom. What they say now is they need not freedom but food. They felt they were just instruments in the past. Here they are just instruments, too. If they are ordered (by the Indonesians) to kill, they have to kill."

They go with the military to fight? "They fight also," say the nuns.

Do they feel they are traitors? "They feel they have to comply, they feel compelled to obey the orders . . . yes, they are threatened if they do not help."

Others more recently captured all bear the scars of Indonesian bullets. These men just live on the military base.

Is the war over? "The war will still continue because there is still Fretilin . . . they don't feel (they have) lost."

While Indonesia's military war continues, so does its fight for the hearts and minds of the East Timorese. This is the second front. The Indonesian army, which in Indonesia has a dual security and socio-political role, says it is trying to improve relations with the people.

The armed forces, ABRI, helped fund a new cathedral. And much money has been poured in for better roads, schools, doctors. But allegations of beatings continue. And killings.

Indonesia's Institute for the Defence of Human Rights raised allegations of a dozen killings recently. Other observers believe the figure could be double that. Indonesia denies the charges.

"We are not going to do that," insists one senior officer in Dili. "If you make brutality against the people then they will hate you. If they hate us, that is zero for us."

> **'No one can tell the Indonesians to leave — they've put millions into this place'**

And Foreign Minister Mr Ali Alatas adds: "We are not saying it's a human rights haven, but it (abuse) is not condoned, not a persistant policy."

Indonesia claims there were just three doctors and two dentists in East Timor in 1976, now there are 98 doctors, four specialists, 12 dentists and five pharmacists. It also claims there were only 47 primary schools with 12,000 students and 499 teachers, while now there are 498 schools, 110,000 students and 2978 teachers, as well as 80 high schools and teacher training colleges.

Even so, the people remain reserved. Says one priest of the Indonesian troops: "They were very brutal, but the military now are trying to be nicer."

A trip through Baucau to Lospalos in the east, where guerilla activity continues, reveals the pervasiveness of the military. There are five or six checkpoints between Dili and Baucau. On the road we see 14 or 15 trucks filled with troops. We also notice a black jeep, which keeps us in sight all the way back to Dili. The same car is parked outside the military intelligence office the next day.

Other evidence of the war is less obvious — the orphanages, for example, where children have lost their fathers in fighting the Indonesians. One has received 20 new children this year because of the fighting — the most recent two months ago, according to a priest.

There are other signs: the military graveyard at Baucau has eight fresh graves. And among the wild grasses atop an old Portuguese walled town on the way to Lospalos lie two unmarked mounds, six foot by two, a couple of spent cartridges nearby.

The same journey makes it apparent that lack of free speech is not the most serious of East Timor's problems.

The pleasant beaches belie any notion that here is a tropical paradise. Malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, bad water, inadequate medical care and uneducated health practices can take a heavy toll. The land, too, is harsh.

The water courses at this time are bone dry. Rats have wiped out the rice crop in one area we pass through.

Families are large, says one priest, so the few can survive.

In another village, a priest says students can have only one meal a day, and then there is very little meat. There are too few buffalo since the war. Indonesian figures show that the population fell by at least 70,000 (other estimates reach 200,000) in the fighting and famine following its annexation.

The official figures say that in 1976 food production fell by more than half, while even now animal stocks are drastically lower than in 1976, particularly for buffalo, goats and chickens.

If stomachs are empty, the churches are full. "In times of hardship, people turn to faith," says another priest.

The military realise the power of the Church. And they do not like it. Pope John Paul II's Mass in Dili last week was an instructive occasion. The pontiff's message was unequivocal: Indonesia must do much more to improve the economic and human rights situation in the province. It must respect the culture and traditions of the East Timorese.

To underline this point, the Pope surprised everyone by giving the Mass in the local language, Tetum, not Latin. During his sermon, which spoke in harsh terms of the tragedy inflicted on the East Timorese, Indonesian military intelligence say they were watching the local priests all the time, noting which applauded most enthusiastically the Pope's message.

"Maybe there are Fretilin sympathisers in the Church," says one officer. "Maybe some priests are also sympathisers."

At the end of the Mass, a group of about 20 young people demonstrated for independence, shouting slogans and raising banners. That night the military were pooh-poohing the significance of the event — a mere 20 out of 300,000 at the Mass (independent estimates say there were about 100,000).

At the same time officers were also picking up students from a technical school at Fatamaka, run by priests. According to priests and the bishop, about 12 boys were beaten by commandos, who tried to make them confess that the priests were behind the demonstration. One was allegedly so badly hurt he could not make the long trip home from Dili. Other boys were picked up last weekend.

The military denied any detentions or beatings. Some boys were questioned, said one officer, "because we have to know who is behind this". They suspect the Church.

In Jakarta, a member of the Government goes further: "Priests should tell the truth, but the world is full of priests not knee-deep, but neck-deep in politics.

"There is a small core, four or five priests of Portuguese descent who are violently political in East Timor."

Now, the priests, many of whom are foreigners, are worried their visas will not be renewed.

Fatamaka college is a proud institution for teaching practical and technical skills. It is funded by food grown from fields the priests have made fertile by modern farming techniques. Across the valley is Mate Bian, where some Fretilin are said to hide. Locals say you can see Australia from its peak.

Also near the college there are Indonesian battalions, including a platoon of special force commandos.

It is symbolic of the Church's role, treading the fine line between two camps. Yes, say the priests, medicine is provided to the men from the mountains, but no aid for making war.

Despite the Bishop's call for independence, some other priests make it clear they are not anti-Indonesian. They are for justice.

"The mediating role is very difficult to play," says one priest. "The Church has some freedom of movement, so the Government says they are against it."

Another says: "No one can tell the Indonesians to leave, they have put millions into this place."

But while Jakarta wanted good Indonesians first and good Catholics second, "we want to make them (the young people) think a little".

"We tell them to respect the security checks, but then they pick up a boy and beat him up when we have told him to respect authority. So who is spoiling it then?"

If the priests are not against Indonesia, there is no doubt they are for the East Timorese.

They are concerned about the Finlandisation of the local population. This influence is both blatant and subtle. Children are taught in the national Bahasa language at school, while at home on televisions (many of which are provided by the military) the only channel is Indonesian. But in church the priests use Tetum.

"The Church insists," says one priest. With 32 local dialects, a single native tongue "gives them (East Timorese) an identity".

Another priest says it is in the commercial area that "the Indonesians have had their greatest victory – most of the stores in Dili now are owned by Indonesians".

Governor Carrascalao takes a more pragmatic view than the Church. Publicly, he takes the Indonesian line. He dismisses the demonstration after the Mass as some people showing off to foreign journalists.

Some might not be happy, but "the sun is shining in our hearts and we can build a better future", he says.

As for a referendum, it would "divide Timor again, tribe would fight tribe and Timor will again become a place of war".

Privately, though, Mr Carrascalao is seen by observers as a hard worker for his people. They say it was the Governor who convinced the Government to open East Timor to the outside world last December; that he has fought against the human rights abuses; and succeeded in what is set to be a removal, or at least downgrading, of the special military command over the province.

Some troops may go, but many will stay. This is Indonesia now.

Show of strength ... a rare photograph of a group of Fretilin guerillas in the East Timor jungle

MELBOURNE HERALD, 11 MARCH 1990

Teenage face of Timor's desperation

In 14 years of genocide, the Indonesian takeover of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor has claimed an estimated 100,000 to 200,000 lives. *The Sunday Herald's* MARK BAKER, the first western journalist to visit since the latest uprising began, reports on the upsurge of student power.

HE IS 18 years old and ready to die. "I don't care what they do to me any more," he said. "My life is not important. What is important is freedom for our people. We all have to fight now."

Naive bravado trips from the tongue of this young Timorese student. It sat awkwardly with the boyish good looks and tight jeans. The bayonet scars across his back were the hidden revolutionary credentials.

Fourteen years ago he watched as his brother and uncle were executed by Indonesian soldiers in the holocaust that claimed the lives of between 100,000 and 200,000 Timorese. Now he is taking his own stand.

Last October, when the Pope came to East Timor, this young man and 20 others staged a daring act of protest. At the end of the papal mass on the outskirts of Dili they rushed towards the altar with a banner calling for independence.

Police wielding riot sticks forced the group back. As soon as the Pope had departed about 100 more people joined the fray, throwing chairs at police. The confrontation was quickly and fiercely suppressed. Three protesters were arrested and held overnight.

The incident, which caught a flash of international attention, showed that almost 15 years after Indonesia seized the former Portuguese territory, dissent still festered beneath the veneer of order and development, and Jakarta still ruled by force and intimidation.

What the world did not see was the brutal aftermath of the Pope's visit — and the blooding of a new generation of Timorese militants who now threaten to destabilise Indonesia's control as much as the dogged Fretilin guerrillas still fighting in the isolated interior.

The young student and about 30 other youths, fearing for their lives, went directly from the papal mass to seek sanctuary in the residence of the local Roman Catholic leader, Bishop Carlos Belo.

Late on the night of November 3 the military authorities, who had been pressing the bishop to release the students, acted. The local military intelligence chief, Colonel Brimo Prekarsa, and about 20 soldiers raided the bishop's house and forced him to hand over the youths.

Colonel Brimo promised that they would be questioned then released. All of them were beaten, tortured and imprisoned without trial, according to church sources. Some were held for three months before being released.

"They beat me with rifle butts, put electrical shocks through my nipples and my back was slashed with a bayonet," said the young student. "Sometimes I was kept in a bath of filthy water for 24 hours. They fed us rotting food that was only good for animals. When I was released in January my body was covered with wounds and sores. I had chronic diarrhoea and I could not walk properly for more than a week."

Other detainees described how they were suspended from ceilings and beaten, punched in the genitals and had their hands crushed under the legs of chairs while soldiers sat interrogating them.

The imprisonement and abuse of the students fuelled a wave of youth unrest in Dili and other major towns that has escalated over the past three months and is now alarming the authorities in Jakarta.

On November 4, the day after the army raid on the bishop's residence, more than a thousand youths rallied outside the house and stoned military vehicles. Up to 40 more youths were reported to have been arrested.

Then on November 15 the military, searching for leaders of the November 4 demonstration, staged a commando-style raid on St Joseph's high school, a centre of student activism in Dili. Four truckloads of troops surrounded the school and stormed the building, many soldiers forcing their way in through windows, according to staff.

During the raid, shots were fired into the air, at least two more arrests were made and another 16 students fled to temporary sanctuary in the bishop's house.

The biggest clash came on January 17 when about 150 students and young civil servants, waving pro-independence banners and chanting anti-Indonesian slogans, rallied outside Dili's Tourismo Hotel during a visit by the US Ambassador, Mr John Monjo. Police and troops set upon the crowd as soon as the ambassador had driven away from the hotel.

The military, ignoring diplomatic convention, forced their way into the nearby residence of the Red Cross representatives, where one of the wounded protesters was sheltering. Five soldiers beat him with their rifle butts, ignoring the pleas of the Red Cross nurse to spare him.

The protest and its supression caused an outcry within the diplomatic community in Jakarta and a prompt reaction from the Indonesian hierarchy.

The military leaders in Dili, fearing worse unrest, publicly apologised for the violence and sanctioned several days of "legal" protest during which thousands of Timorese marched in the streets of Dili.

In Jakarta, the urbane Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, formally apologised to the Red Cross.

Behind the scenes, the military stepped up its efforts to crush the growing rebellion. In Dili, security forces intensified their campaign of covert intimidation and harrassment against known activists, their families and suspected dissidents.

ON February 2 the Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani, flew into Dili and called an extraordinary meeting of senior Timorese government officials and community leaders. He accused them of supporting Fretilin, inciting the rebellious youth and gave a blunt warning that any further protests would be "wiped out".

The next day thousands of troops flooded into Dili in a show of force. "Long columns of soldiers marched into town in formation and two warships suddenly appeared and unloaded hundreds more troops," said a foreign witness. "People were really frightened of what was going to happen. They were scared to death."

Church officials said that despite the Pope's pleas for reconciliation and forgiveness, his visit had been a touchstone for thousands of young Timorese who were tired of the political and economic repression of the Indonesian armed forces.

"These people have reached a level of frustration and anger where they are prepared to go into the streets whatever the consequences," said one Timorese priest. "It is too late to cool down these people. They have had enough.

"This is the greatest failure of the Indonesians. Some of these young people were not born before the Indonesian occupation but they have experienced the oppression. There are emotional, psychological and physical links with the past. It's in their blood and now this new generation is ready to fight."

Indonesia claims to have brought major improvements in social and economic conditions in Timor since 1975 — a five-fold increase in per capita incomes, doubling of literacy levels with many new schools, improved roads and government infrastructure. "Indonesia has done more for the people here in the past 15 years than Portugal did in 450 years," said one official.

The reality is that more than ever the territory is dominated, economically, politically and socially, by the armed forces and the estimated 100,000 non-Timorese settlers.

Timor's GNP is half the national average, half the population is still illiterate, there are an estimated 40,000 urban unemployed and in outlying provinces thousands of villagers, according to church officials, are living on the edge of starvation.

While hundreds of the territorial troops in Timor are involved in civil works projects aimed at winning the "hearts and minds" of the villagers — building roads, bridges and model villages — critics say much of the work is designed primarily to increase the mobility and control of the security forces. "For every soldier working in a village development project there have to be another four nearby to protect him," said one priest.

The Timorese economy has been turned into a vehicle to enrich senior military officers. The lucrative coffee trade has been made an army monopoly with local growers paid only half as much as villagers in neighbouring West Timor. The military also runs supermarkets, transport contracting and controls the thriving black market, smuggling liquor, cigarettes, spare parts and luxury goods direct from Singapore.

"The army is getting a big cut from all the roads, bridges and irrigation projects being built and they are heavily involved in land grabbing from villagers," said one official. "It happens everywhere in Indonesia but here it is completely unrestrained.

The pervasive antagonism of the Timorese towards the Indonesians has also been fed by the continuing violence against civilians.

The Jakarta-based Institute for the Defence of Human Rights says 49 Timorese "non-combatants" were killed by the military last year — many of them villagers shot without provocation while working or travelling in the countryside. Another eight civilians have died since a shake-up of the military command structure in Dili last December, presented by Jakarta as a move to defuse local tensions.

"Execution, torture and imprisonment is still widespread," said the institute's director, Mr Johannes Princen. "There is no respect for these people, their language and customs. The local culture is disappearing quickly."

Despite official claims that Fretilin has been neutralised, intensive military operations have been mounted against the rebels over the past three months, according to diplomatic and church sources.

They said the operations, aimed a capturing rebel leaders including Fretilin commander, Xanana Gusmao had split the guerrillas into tw mountainous regions in the south-wes and far east of the territory. Whil Xanana has eluded capture, one of hi closest lieutenants, a man nam Miguel, was shot dead in Decembe after troops set a three-day ambush near his wife's home.

At least 10 Indonesian soldiers are believed to have been killed in clashes since late last year. Last week alone two more soldiers were buried in the military cemetery in Dili and three others were brought wounded to the army hospital in the capital.

While Fretilin is believed to now have only about 400 fighters in the field, its continuing ability to challenge Indonesian control — and its popular support — is clear. Indonesia still requires a force of up to 20,000 troops, including 12 infantry battalions, to rule Timor.

Signs of an emerging alliance between the guerrillas and the growing ranks of radical urban youth has thrown up a dangerous new challenge.

"There will be more and more trouble because awareness has come to the Timorese people after 15 years and people are seeing the time has come to take a stand," said a young Timorese priest who has worked closely with the youth in Dili.

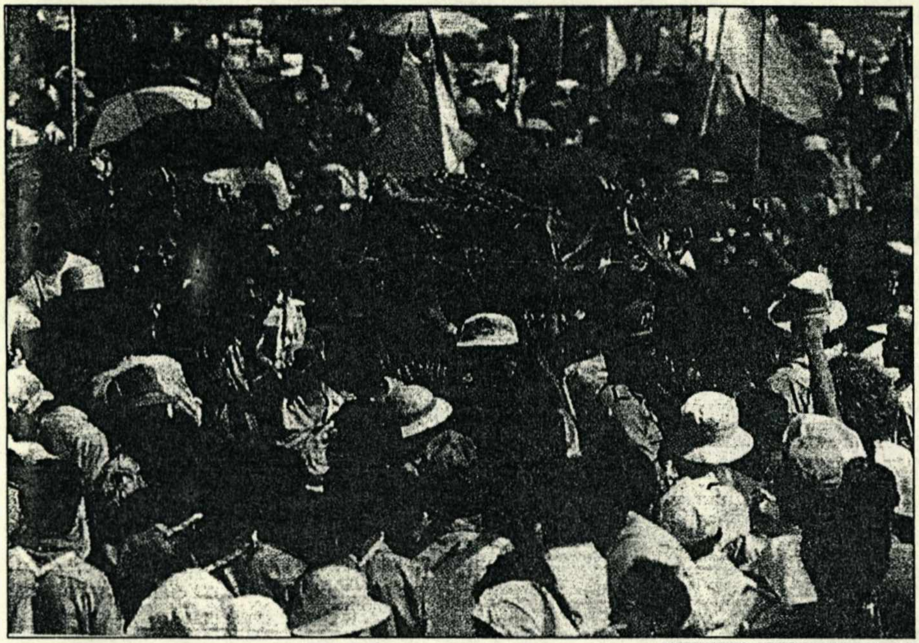
"People here have always lived in fear and now they are very frightened. But they are also ready to take risks. The networks have been built up and there are contacts between Fretilin and the students and young workers."

The priest said that preparations were being made for further major demonstrations and a "very great show of force" was planned to coincide with the proposed visit by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation later this year.

"Maybe this is a lost cause, a small island, a small people, but it is the fate of one people," he said. "It cannot be forgotten."

Visiting a Forgotten War

The pope calls attention to conflict in East Timor



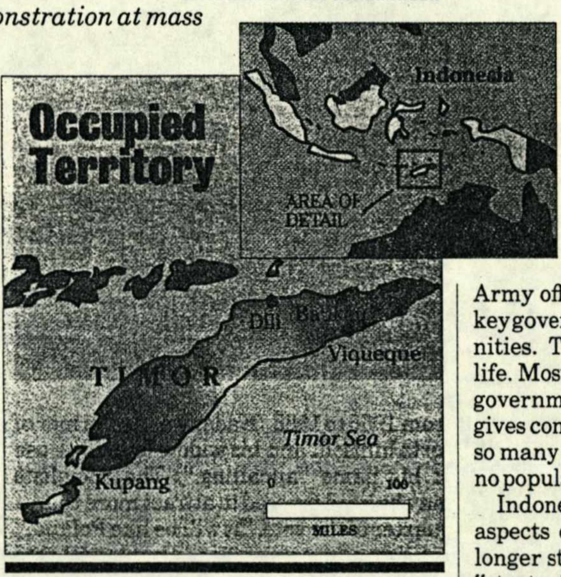
ANDY HERNANDEZ FOR NEWSWEEK

'In need of Christian healing': *Nationalist demonstration at mass*

The gates of the Santa Cruz military cemetery in Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, are kept locked—with good reason. Indonesian officials publicly maintain that none of their troops have been killed in the troubled province in years. But tombstone No. 353 marks the last resting place of infantryman Abdul Rowran Pratu, who died on Sept. 12, 1989. He was shot to death, like most of those lying near him.

East Timor is a war the world forgot. Ever since predominantly Muslim Indonesia invaded this Catholic province in 1975, a stubborn insurgency has continued. In 14 years of fighting, war and famine claimed nearly a third of the population, but few people heard of the violence because Indonesia effectively sealed the borders. Foreign observers weren't allowed in; East Timorese weren't allowed out. Daily life was so closely controlled that village residents had to submit to morning and evening roll calls. It was, observed a Catholic prelate in the capital city of Dili years ago, a prison for 650,000 people.

Last week Pope John Paul II came to the former Portuguese colony to lend the church's prestige to the cause of East Timor's Catholics. His homily was blunt, especially for what had been billed as a pastoral visit. "For many years now, you have experienced destruction and death," he told a crowd of perhaps 100,000 in the capital. "You have known what it means to be victims of hatred and struggle." He called for human-rights safeguards. His grace note: "Your land is much in need of Christian healing." As John Paul left, a small group of Timorese nationalists tried storming the altar, unfurling a pro-independence banner and shouting "Viva il papa." Club-wielding Indonesian police officers beat them back.



It was not quite the spin Indonesian officials expected. They had mounted an unprecedented charm offensive, welcoming reporters and others in hopes of convincing the world that the war is over, and that Fretilin, the group still recognized by the United Nations as the legitimate representative of the East Timorese, is no longer a military or political force. Col. Bimo Prekarsa, the chief of military intelligence in Dili, estimated that at most 200 or 300 Fretilin guerrillas remain active, out of a force that he said once numbered 25,000 armed men. Indonesian officials even allowed NEWSWEEK to visit the towns of Baukau and Viqueque, centers of heavy fighting in the past. In Viqueque, Army commander Lt. Col. Bambang Sudarmo said that weakness had reduced the 30 Fretilin in his area to robbing civilians.

Guerrilla attacks: Graveyards told a different story. Just outside the remote mountaintop village of Uatolari, a hillside cemetery bristled with new crosses, many of them marked with the word *gugur:* "shot." Local farmers said the victims were Timorese militiamen, impressed by the Army for guard duty and killed in Fretilin guerrilla attacks. At a new Indonesian military cemetery in Baukau—one of three main ones in the province—were 175 Muslim soldiers' graves and 40 Christian ones, most also marked "gugur." Sixty-three dated from 1988. Col. Sudarmo said the soldiers must have been shot in accidents. Fretilin is "still fighting," said East Timor's apostolic administrator, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, "and most people still sympathize with them."

To the Timorese, the biggest threat now is forced cultural assimilation. The language Bahasa Indonesia has replaced Portuguese in all but some church schools. Indonesians—usually Army officers in civilian guise—occupy all key government posts, even in local communities. They dominate Dili's commercial life. Most troubling to Catholic leaders is a government birth-control program that gives contraceptives to all residents. "With so many dead," said Bishop Belo, "we have no population problem here."

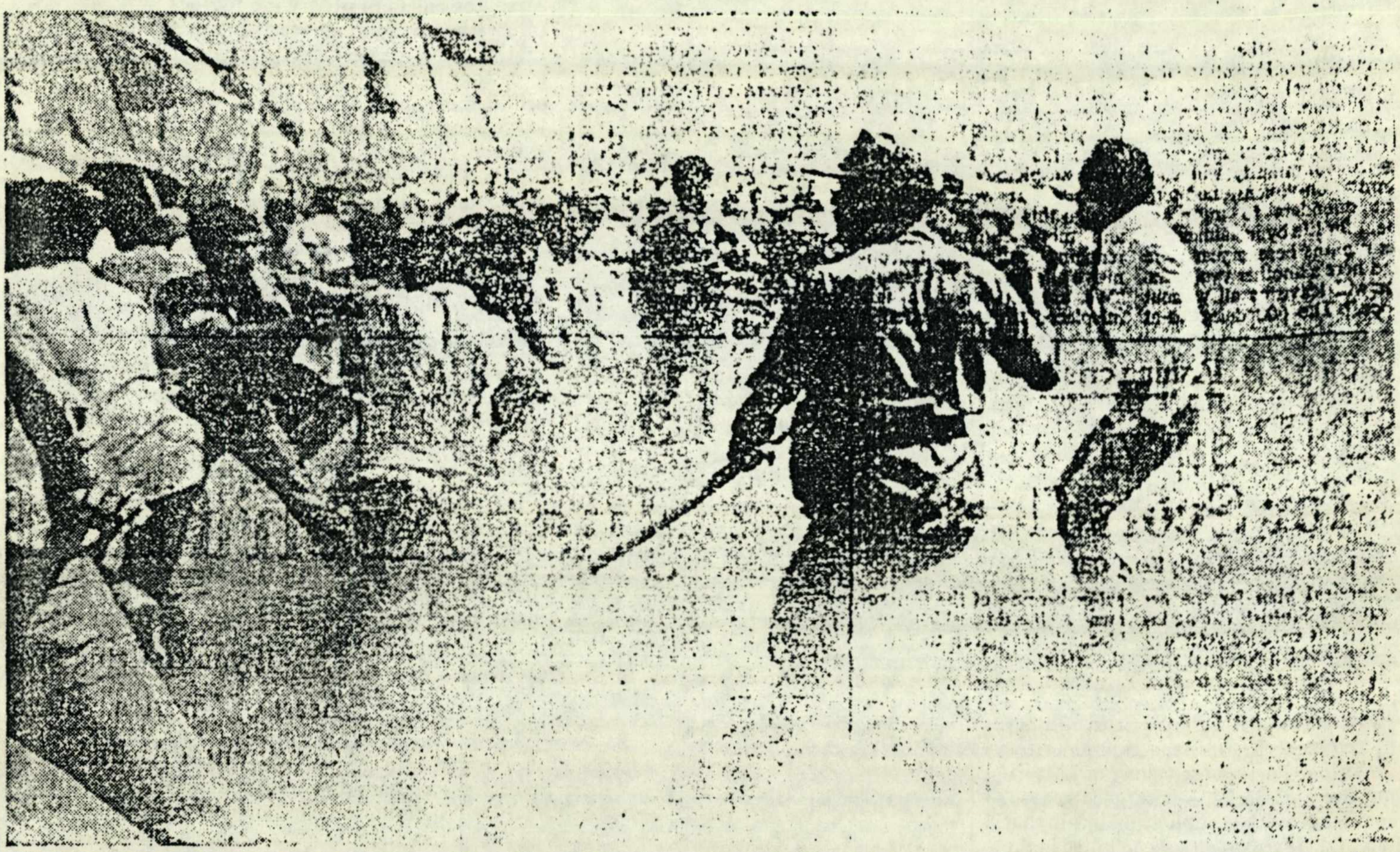
Indonesia has ended some of the harsher aspects of the occupation. People are no longer starving due to forced relocation to "strategic hamlets." A notorious concentration camp on Atauro Island is closed. The borders are now officially open, and residents can in theory travel within the province and to other parts of Indonesia. In practice, people's movements are controlled by a pervasive security apparatus. The police and Army stop and question travelers at checkpoints that appear as often as once every five or 10 miles. Still, at least some East Timorese were brave enough to get their message to John Paul last week. The rebellion may be hidden in East Timor, but it is far from over.

ROD NORDLAND *in East Timor*

TIMES PAST
THE TIMES

FRIDAY OCTOBER 13 1989

Pope sees East Timor protest for freedom



Pro-independence demonstrators being dispersed by police wielding batons during the Pope's Mass in East Timor's provincial capital, Dili, yesterday.

Youths in battle with security police

By Our Foreign Staff

Protesters demanding freedom for East Timor clashed with security guards at the Pope's Mass in the provincial capital, Dili, yesterday.

The Pope watched as about 20 young people broke from the crowd in front of the altar at the outdoor service, waving banners and shouting slogans. The protesters emerged from the crowd at the end of a Mass during which the Pope had made a strong call for human rights in the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia invaded and occupied from 1975.The United Nations has since refused to recognize Jakarta's incorporation of the territory, despite high levels of investment in an attempt to lift it out of the poverty and backwardness which were the legacy of the Portuguese.

East Timor has a strong Christian minority — as does Indonesia as a whole — heavily concentrated in the elite, the Government and the military as well as the Chinese community, which runs the country's economy.

As the young dissidents dashed forward chanting in Portuguese, security forces kicked dust in their faces. A battle ensued, with chairs thrown back and forth and troops beating protesters with batons.

Dozens more joined in the protest, several of them were injured and an unknown number arrested.

The clash ended with the mediation of priests just as the Pope was leaving the Mass grounds. "It was really snowballing. If it hadn't been for the priests it would probably have ended in a riot," one witness said.

The protestors appeared to support Fretilin, a separatist group that once controlled Dili but has now been reduced to a few hundred guerrillas battling Indonesian troops in the eastern hills. The youths at first shouted "Long live the Pope", but changed their chant to "Long live Fretilin". One of their banners said in Portuguese: "Pope, save East Timor". The protestors got through in spite of tight security around Dili.

East Timorese opposing the visit pointed to a thicket of Indonesian flags and huge posters of President Suharto as evidence that Jakarta was trying to make political capital out of a pastoral visit. The incident marred the end of a visit Jakarta wanted to use to demonstrate its sucessful integration of the territory.

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Friday October 13 1989

Indonesian clashes

Protesters demanding freedom for East Timor clashed with security guards at Pope John Paul's mass in the Indonesian-ruled territory. **Earlier story, Page 4**

Pope calls on Indonesia to improve rights record

POPE JOHN PAUL yesterday made an impassioned plea to Indonesia to improve human rights conditions in East Timor, while avoiding explicit reference to the legal status of this disputed former Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta in 1976, **John Murray Brown** reports from Dili.

At a Mass outside Dili, the provincial capital, the Pope called for reconciliation to end more than 14 years of social and economic deprivation of the 600,000 largely Catholic population.

The Pope said the suffering has gone on too long. "You have known what it means to be victims of hatred and struggle," he told a crowd of around 100,000.

"For too long you have been suffering a lack of stability which renders your future uncertain."

The two-hour service was briefly interrupted by a demonstration by a small group of supporters of Fretelin, the movement for Timor's independence which briefly held power in the wake of Portugal's hasty withdrawal.

A tenth of Timor's population died in the fighting and famine that followed Indonesia's invasion in late 1975. Human rights groups say army reprisals against civilians continue today.

The Vatican, like the United Nations, does not recognise Indonesia's sovereignty over the territory.

The Pope went out of his way yesterday to stress the pastoral nature of the visit and did not kiss the ground, his traditional gesture on arriving in a new country for the first time.

Indonesia on the other hand has clearly tried to make political capital out of the trip.

Yesterday thousands of Indonesian flags lined the streets of Dili, a large government poster welcomed the Pope to Indonesia's 27th province and at the Mass site a large picture of President Suharto had been erected next to one of the Pope.

● Chanting, banner-waving youths opposed to Indonesian rule over East Timor clashed with club-wielding police in front of the altar where Pope John Paul II was finishing his benediction to a crowd of about 60,000, **AP adds from Dilli.**

SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, 18 October1989

WORLD

Students tortured, says bishop

INDONESIA

LOUISE WILLIAMS
HERALD CORRESPONDENT

DILI, Tuesday: Eighteen East Timorese high school students were detained, beaten and tortured by Indonesian troops in the wake of last week's attempted pro-independence protest during Pope John Paul's visit, according to the Catholic bishop of East Timor.

Indonesian officials earlier promised there would be no reprisals or arrests over the incident in which about 20 East Timorese tried to display a banner at a Mass held by the Pope, protesting against Indonesian military control over the former Portuguese colony, which was invaded and annexed by Jakarta in 1975.

Bishop Belo said 15 students from a Catholic high school outside Dili and three from the capital were picked up by soldiers of the special forces and severely beaten during interrogation.

He said all but two of the students had been released because photos of the incident showed they were not involved. One student, he said, was so badly injured that he was being detained in Dili, while the other was still under interrogation.

According to the students' statements to local priests, the military was attempting to extract evidence from the students of a possible church role in the protest, which embarrassed the Indonesian authorities in East Timor.

The Indonesian Government has been seeking to improve its image in East Timor where thousands were slaughtered by Indonesian troops during the invasion, but the local Catholic Church has been outspoken in its criticism of human rights abuses by the military and in support of the East Timorese people's' rights to self-determination. Neither the Vatican nor the United Nations formally recognises Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

The banner which protesters attempted to display at the Papal Mass included the slogan "Viva Fretilin", referring to the remnants of the pro-independence guerillas who have been fighting Indonesian troops in East Timor since the 1975 invasion.

Bishop Belo said of the military: "They treated the boys very, very badly."

He did not specify the methods of torture which he alleged the military had used but said only: "It was worse than beating, it was greatly humiliating.

"They [the military] are really making a big thing out of this incident. It really is the wrong step, this is an injustice."

A senior military source confirmed that there was no evidence against any of the students. He said, however, that only nine — and not 18 — students were picked up for questioning.

"They were not beaten, that is not our policy, they were only given a piece of paper to write their statements on."

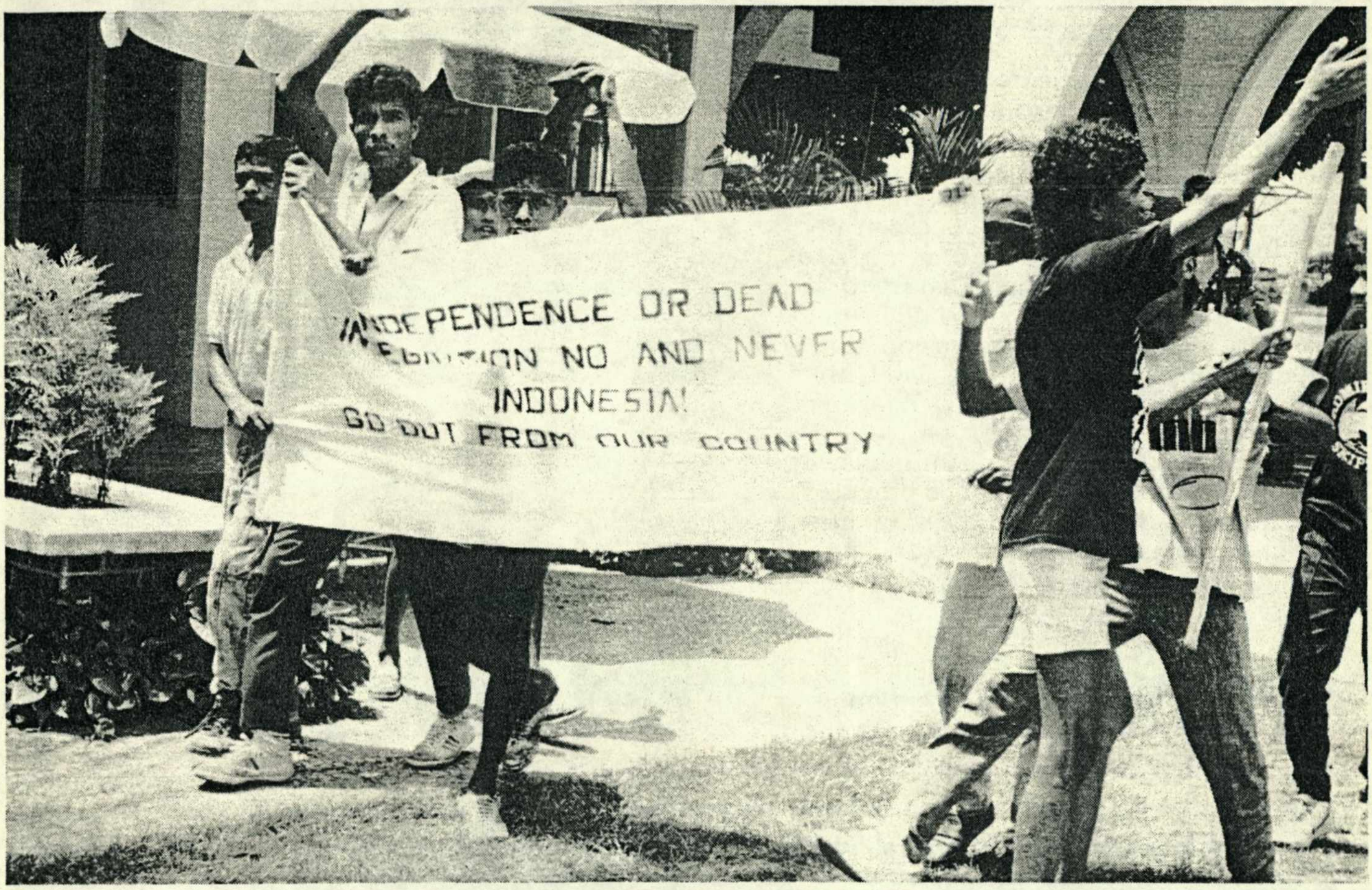
He confirmed that at least one student was still being held in Dili but said that he was in "protective custody" and was free to leave.

He also confirmed that military intelligence in Dili thought that some local priests were behind the attempt to disrupt the Mass. Relations between the predominantly Muslim Indonesian military and the Catholic Church were under even greater pressure this week after the arrests.

According to witnesses at the Mass last Thursday, a small group of people attempted to unroll a banner and when security forces moved in, a scuffle broke out, injuring four bystanders in the estimated crowd of 100,000.

A RECENT EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

Human rights in East Timor



Student demonstration moves into Hotel Turismo, Dili, where they spoke to the US Ambassador to Indonesia, John Monjo.

On January 17 1990 Indonesian security personnel brutally repressed a peaceful pro-independence demonstration by East Timorese students in Dili. The demonstration was directed to the US Ambassador, Mr John Monjo, in a plea for US support.

The dispersal of the demonstration was observed by a number of foreign witnesses including Mr Monjo's aides, officials of the International Red Cross, and several tourists.

The following account is from two of those witnesses, Andrew McMillan and Jenny Groves, who were holidaying in East Timor from Darwin, Australia at the time.

On Wednesday 17 January 1990 US Ambassador to Indonesia John Monjo flew into Dili to begin a scheduled three day visit to East Timor.

At midday the Ambassador and his entourage arrived at the Hotel Turismo on the esplanade. Minutes later between 80 and 100 chanting students moved into the Hotel's front courtyard and occupied the balcony of the Hotel's eastern wing.

The students unfurled banners (many of them written in English) calling for justice, peace, and independence for East Timor: "Independence or Dead. Integration No and Never. Indonesia Go Out From Our Country." *(Quoted in the official Antara news on Jauuary 26 1990, Indonesian Brigadier General Nurhadi Purwasaputro claimed that only 20 youths took part in the demonstration.)*

Within two or three minutes six soldiers armed with rifles trotted into the Hotel's beer garden and faced the students on the balcony. Five or six rocks were thrown at the soldiers by students on the balcony. Two of the soldiers threw rocks back at the students. A small number of students, perhaps eight in all, entered the beer garden with a banner. Three of these students were apprehended by the soldiers who kicked, punched and beat them with rifle butts.

Human rights in East Timor: A recent eyewitness account

Minutes later the US Ambassador, flanked by aides and Indonesian officials, appeared at the entrance to the Hotel. Initially he spoke with the demonstrators face to face in the courtyard before withdrawing about three metres to the Hotel's entrance. Further discussions were conducted via megaphones.

Demonstrators in the front courtyard, led by Augusto Nasario, addressed the US Ambassador in Bahasa Indonesia through a megaphone. They apologised for the disturbance, outlined a range of human rights abuses they claimed had been perpetrated by the Indonesians since the annexation of East Timor in 1975, claimed that up to 200,000 East Timorese people had been killed since the Indonesian invasion, and told the Ambassador that it was likely that they would be persecuted or killed for taking part in the demonstration.

The Ambassador, speaking in Bahasa Indonesia through a megaphone provided by Indonesian officials, told the students that he would pass on their grievances to officials in the US and Indonesian governments.

The US Ambassador spent an hour listening to and talking to the students. Throughout this period, Indonesian military and civil officials cooperated with the Ambassador and the students, giving the impression that free speech was a right in East Timor.

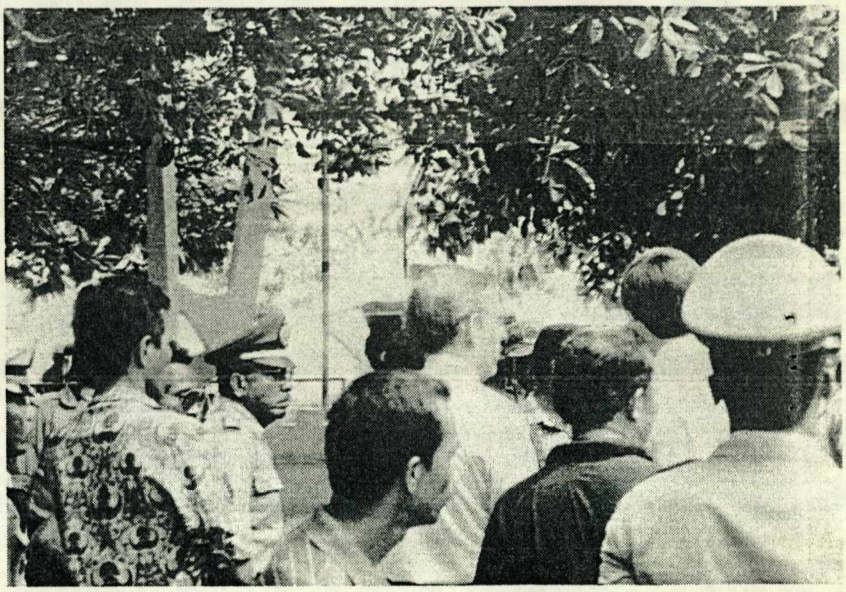
During these discussions, most of which were conducted by megaphone, the students were photographed, videotaped and noted by at least three plain-clothes indonesian officials.

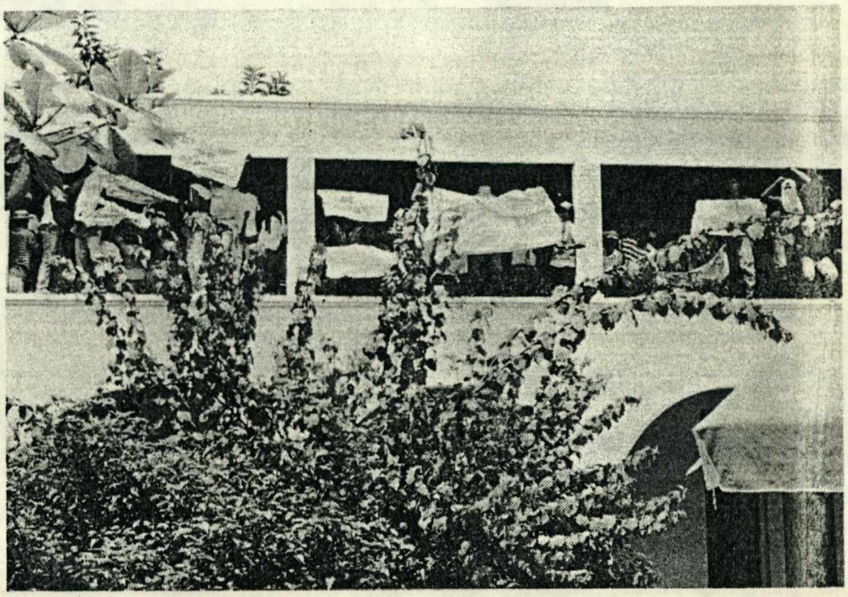
At the same time, at least three truck-loads of "Polisi" (wearing helmuts, webbing, riot shields and batons) formed up on the esplanade at a distance of 20 metres either side of the entrance to the Hotel Turismo.

As the Ambassador (who was due to attend a meeting with the Provincial Governor) left the Hotel in a red Toyota Corolla at about 1:45pm, students - many of whom were now wearing face masks- surged beside and behind the car in order to gain safe passage away from the Hotel.

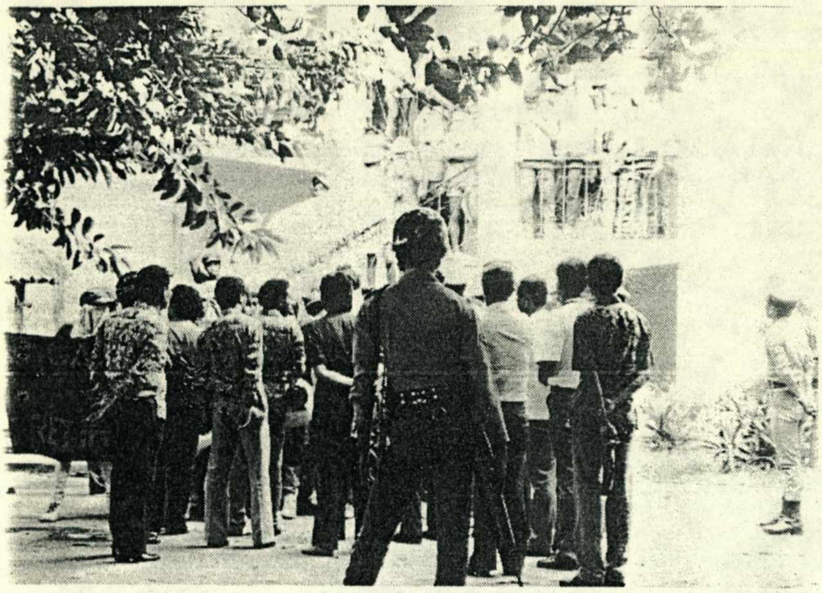
[Contrary to a subsequent statement by Indonesia's Ambassador to Australia, the students did not try to block the way of the Ambassador's car.]

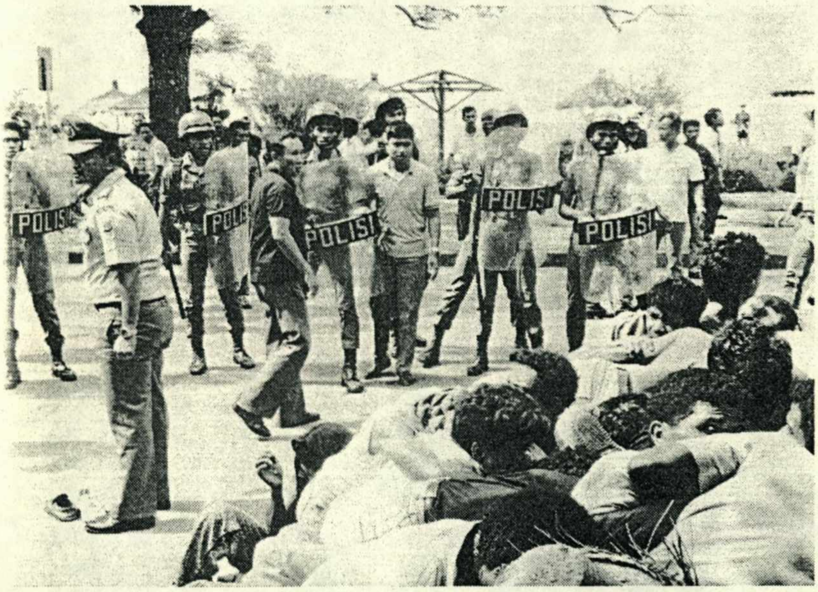
Initially the students who were following the car were restrained with a minimum of force. However, when the Ambassador's car was 50 metres away, and the students were on the footpath and road immediately in front of the Hotel Turismo, squads of riot

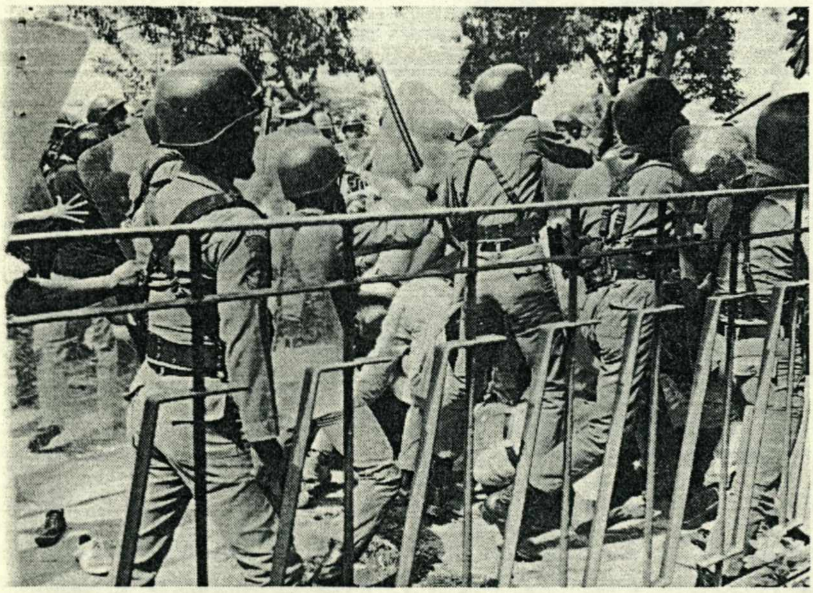




Human rights in East Timor: A recent eyewitness account







police charged at the crowd, beating them with batons and rifle butts.

Some students managed to escape. As the police closed in, about 40 were beaten and clubbed into a human pile against the Hotel's iron fence. Many were streaked with blood. Students who scaled the fence and sought refuge amongst the tourists and two diplomats sheltering at the entrance to the Hotel were chased, kicked and beaten by soldiers with M-16 rifles before they could reach the lobby.

As the police on the street continued to run amok, bashing the students with batons, senior officials stepped in and tried to restrain them.

One body, that of a young man , was dumped onto the tray of a grey police truck. A red flag was tossed over his face.

As the police were withdrawn, students disentangled themselves from the human pile and started praying. Local officials dumped buckets of sand over the pools of blood on the road.

Police climbing into the back of the truck containing the body, kicked the body out of their way. The body did not respond.

Two International Red Cross workers arrived on the scene, explaining that they had to be there because weapons were being used.

The students, many of whom were streaked with blood and crying, retrieved bloodied sandshoes and other footwear from the road and then straggled towards Bishop Belo's house two doors from the Hotel.

[According to the Indonesian ambassador to Australia, "two of the youths received several wounds on their heads and immediately were taken to hospital... the wounded were taken care of at the local hospital and taken home." This is contrary to our observation of one body being left unattended in the back of a truck for at least 15 minutes].

[An American national, who resides in Dili as the representative of a Catholic Aid organisation, informed US diplomats on the afternoon of the demonstration that two people had been killed. One according to his report, had been beaten to death; the other, mortally wounded by gunfire, had fled into the residence of International Red Cross workers next door to the Hotel and had died there, vomitting blood and the bullet that hit him. It was claimed that Indonesian soldiers kicked in the door to the house and retrieved the body. It is understood that the US Ambassador subsequently visited the house and saw evidence of the incident].

Human rights in East Timor: A recent eyewitness account

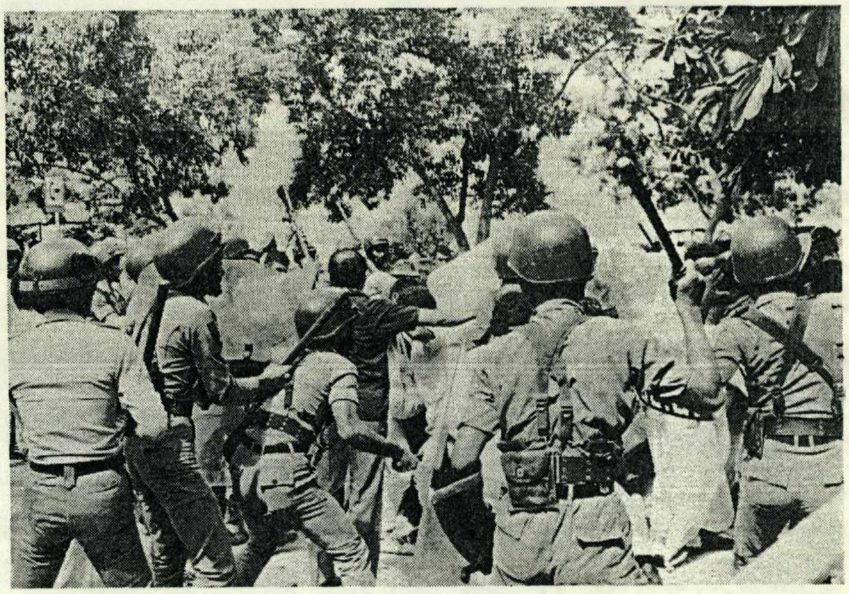
[Other foreigners who were in Dili at the time and witnessed the violence heard stories of people being killed but were unable to verify those stories. Their understanding is that two students with severe head wounds were hospitalised in the local military hospital].

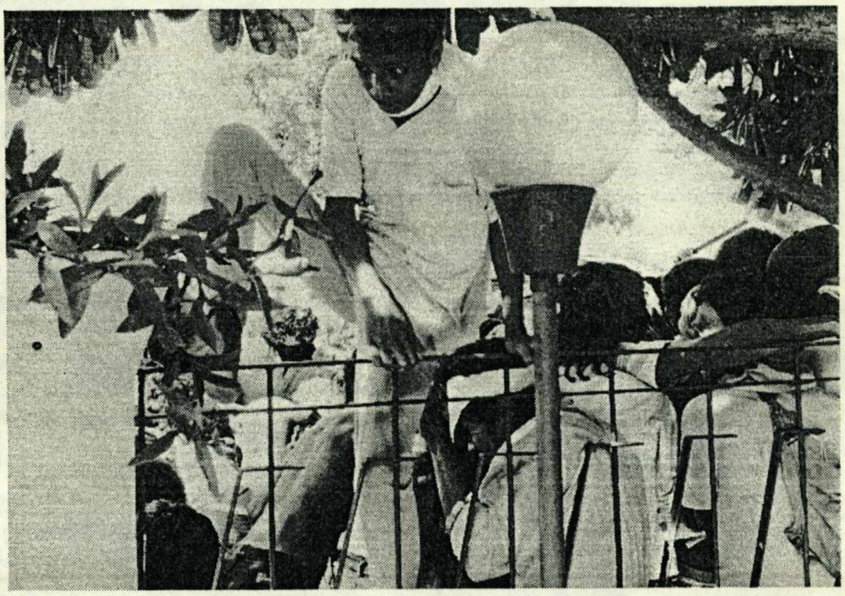
[Subsequent reports from the Jakarta-based Institute for Defence of Human Rights indicated that three students were killed during the demonstration and that up to seven students had gone missing].

Immediately after the demonstration and the subsequent violence two US diplomats approached us and questioned us about what we had seen. We spoke to them for a couple of hours. During these discussions they registered their sense of shock at what had happened to the students. They gave the impression of being deeply disturbed by what had transpired. That evening, over dinner in the Hotel Turismo's dining room, the topic of conversation at the diplomatic party's table rarely veered from the violent events of the afternoon.

US Ambassador John Monjo cut his visit to East Timor short and left Dili the following afternoon, January 18. It is understood that he pleaded with local authorities not to further harass the students involved in what had started out as a peaceful demonstration. At a subsequent demonstration outside the Governor's residence on the evening of the US Ambassador's departure there were no reports of violence.

Andrew McMillan
Jenny Groves
Darwin, February 1990





FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW
15 FEBRUARY 1990

Demonstration reflects unrest in East Timor

Provincial protest

By Michael Vatikiotis in Jakarta

A demonstration on 17 January by some 150 students in East Timor during a visit by US Ambassador to Indonesia John Monjo, has left diplomatic observers with the impression that unrest in the former Portuguese territory still abounds and may be on the increase. What is unclear is how much of this is genuinely felt by Timorese who were too young to experience the trauma of integration with Indonesia in 1976, and how much has been revived in the course of changing Indonesian approaches to governing the territory.

In the aftermath of the demonstration and the two days of unrest which followed in the provincial capital Dili, analysts are pondering how Jakarta will cope with a situation described by those who have visited the province recently as "increasingly militant."

East Timor was declared an open province in January 1989. This involved lifting travel restrictions in and out of the province and the proposed eventual transfer of military authority from a special command to the regional military command based in Bali. The hope was that the changes, now at a transitional stage, would improve both the situation in East Timor and dilute criticism of Indonesia overseas. For some in East Timor, these hopes have been dashed by the recent demonstration.

Observers point to the heavy-handed manner in which the protest was dispersed by the police, resulting in several serious injuries. At one point soldiers entered the premises of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Dili in pursuit of demonstrators. The organisation has strongly protested the violation of its neutrality, but military sources in Jakarta said the incident was not serious enough to warrant the protest.

The authorities had prior knowledge of the students' plans to demonstrate and East Timor Governor Mario Carascalao is said to be concerned that allowing the demonstration to go ahead and then dispersing it with violence amounted to a provocation by the security forces which may result in further unrest.

Diplomats who follow developments in East Timor are puzzled by the latest turn of affairs. They said that the opening up and attendant military changes have resulted in improved access to prisoners by the Red Cross and new moves to negotiate with remnants of the separatist Fretilin guerillas in the hills. Negotiations were broken off with Fretilin in 1983 but new moves, spearheaded by the internationally minded Centre of Strategic and International Studies based in Jakarta, are said to be under way. Fretilin itself, sources say, is now split into three separate groups, isolated from each other by the military's control of the countryside, making a unified leadership almost impossible.

There are those who argue that Fretilin's isolation and splintered leadership has rendered them marginal to the problem of pacifying East Timor. Military sources say the youthful protesters demanding respect for human rights and self-determination for the Timorese are "angry and disillusioned young men who are being promoted by politicians from the old era" — a reference to the political divisions bequeathed by the last years of Portuguese rule when those for and against integration with Indonesia were pitted against one another in a bitter civil war.

But the military also admits that contemporary social and economic problems are a root cause of disaffection in East Timor. "The core issue is unemployment," a Defence Ministry official told the REVIEW. A recent report prepared by a rural studies unit at Gajah Mada University in Jogyakarta warned that unrest in East Timor would continue unless jobs are found for the increasing number of educated Timorese. The report's author, sociologist Loekman Soetrisno, told a seminar in January that land disputes, resettlement and demands for political openness, were among factors which could worsen unrest in East Timor.

Despite these warnings, and signs that unrest is already worse than before, there so far have been no indications of any return to military rule in East Timor. "We have to regard East Timor in the same way as any other province," said a military source. "We shall therefore deal with factional elements in the same way we do in other provinces — according to one rulebook." Even so, there are some who suspect that East Timor remains very much a coveted preserve of the military. Most senior staff officers have seen service there, and it remains a convenient training ground for the army. For this reason, as well as the major internal security role the army already plays throughout Indonesia, it is unlikely that East Timor's demilitarisation will go too far. ■

THE TIMOR GAP TREATY

The Sunday Age, 31 December 1989

COMMENT

Self-interest leads Australia to a credibility gap

Sasha Stepan argues that the recent Timor Gap treaty between Australia and Indonesia is fundamentally flawed.

THE recent signing by Australia and Indonesia of the Timor Gap Joint Development Zone Treaty represents a flagrant violation of international law and a denial of the fundamental right of the East Timorese people to self-determination.

Australia and Indonesia have divided the potentially enormous oil reserves of the Timor Gap between themselves, ignoring the fact that Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, which gives it sovereignty to negotiate the sea boundary, was illegal and that its continued occupation of the territory is illegal, and that treaties that depend on Indonesia's sovereignty are therefore illegal.

Thus, both Australia and Indonesia are in breach of international law.

Yet there has been notable international silence in the wake of this illegal treaty. The only state to make a formal protest has been Portugal, the former colonial ruler, which has indicated that it intends to dispute the treaty in the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

If Portugal withstands international ridicule at what may seem to be an attempt to cling on to lost power, and takes the case to the ICG, it stands an excellent chance of success.

Portugal is still recognised by the United Nations as the "administering power" in East Timor, both the United National General Assembly and Security Council have declared Indonesia's annexation to be illegal, and the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, to which both Australia and Indonesia are signatories, declares treaties which are in violation of international law to be void.

Australia has been reluctant to acknowledge that its recognition of the annexation is in breach of international law. The Australian Government has claimed that Australia recognises Indonesia as the state in possession of East Timor and can therefore choose to negotiate with it on that basis.

Both the UN Security Council and the General Assembly have declared that Indonesia engaged in an unlawful act in annexing East Timor, breaching several articles of the UN Charter. It follows that recognition of such an annexation is also in breach of international law.

The Australian Government view reflects an interpretation of international law that acts of aggression can be ignored and that violators of international law can obtain good title to territory which they seize. This proposition is expressely denied by Article 2, paragraph IV of the UN charter, which states: "All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN."

This was reinforced in the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Nations and Cooperation, and again in the 1974 Definition of Aggession Declaration.

The problem is that Indonesia has not submitted to the compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ. However, Australia has and would face considerable international embarrassment if it tried either to deny jurisdiction or to refuse to abide by the court's decision.

Those who wish that, with the signing of the Timor Gap treaty, the East Timor issue would just disappear suggest that the territory has no alternative but to be absorbed by Indonesia. They argue that an independent East Timor would be economically unsustainablem,while at the same time applauding a treaty which has opened up the potentially enormous wealth of the Timor Gap.

The principle of Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources enshrines the right to economic self-determination as a right not only of nations, but of people's, and has been recognised in a number of UN resolutions.

Upholding East Timor's right to permanent sovereignty over its natural resources in the Timor Gap would destroy any argument that as an independent state, East Timor would not be economically viable. The 1982 Law of the Sea Convention, (UNCLOS III), to which Indonesia and Australia are both signatories, also supports the argument.

To the extent that Indonesia makes claims concerning the resources of the sea and continental shelf areas surrounding East Timor, it can hardly claim to have refrained from the threat or use of force.

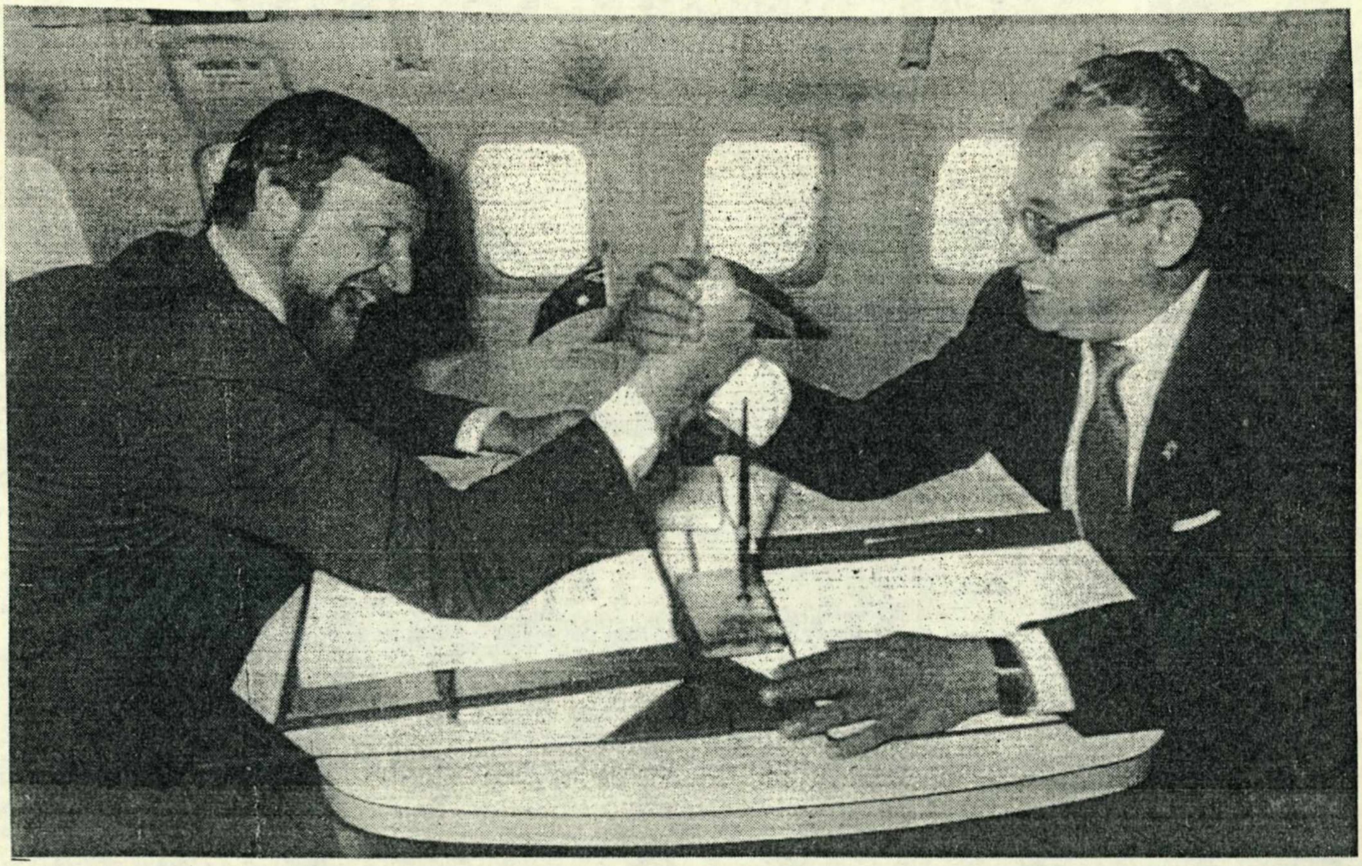
In denying Timorese self-determination, it has acted in breach of other principles of law contained in the UN charter. Australia, in condoning those acts, is a party to Indonesia's breaches of the letter and spirit of UNCLOS III. Australia may be breaching the treaty in its own right by acting inconsistently with the East Timorese people's rights.

The present UN policy views East Timor as a non self-governing territory administered by Portugal and the UN General Assembly has repeatedly opposed Indonesian control over East Timor, and called for an act of self-determination.

East Timor has the potential to be like Brunei or a small Arab state. Even without vast mineral wealth, its people are entitled to choose their destiny under international law.

Australia, by signing the Timor Gap treaty, condones the denial of self-determination and enables the East Timorese people's resources to be stolen from them. This conduct is a disgraceful combination of self-interest and cowardly connivance with Indonesia.

■ *Sasha Stepan is a recent honors graduate in Economics and Politics at Monash University.*



TIMOR GAP DUEL: Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas *(right)* arm-wrestles his Australian counterpart Senator Gareth Evans during a light-hearted moment prior to the signing of the Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation Treaty while aboard a Royal Australian Airforce 707 above the Timor Sea yesterday. *(Reuter)*

Jakarta Post, 12 December 1989

The Canberra Times, December 1989

Timor agreement 'no help' to the people

Jim Dunn argues that Australia's newly concluded pact with Indonesia will serve only to entrench violation of the islanders' human rights.

WHEN Gareth Evans and his entourage concluded their Timor Gap agreement in the comfort of their jet above the Timor Sea, in the convivial mood of the occasion it is unlikely that they gave much thought to what this pact really means to the inhabitants of East Timor. They were never in a position to be consulted about the disposal of a part of their own territory of potentially critical importance to an island otherwise poor in resources.

With a few niceties thrown in to soften the blow, what was rightfully Timorese property in trust to the Portuguese was carved up in an agreement between the conquering Indonesians and Australians impatient to tap the oil resources beneath the waters of the Timor Gap.

We have heard from the minister that this agreement is a good thing for Australia, that Indonesia's seizure of Timor is irreversible and that, in any case, the human rights of the East Timorese will be taken good care of, views widely reflected in the media, including *The Canberra Times*.

But is this really the case? It is a comforting analysis, but in fact the belief that doing deals with Indonesia on this issue will help the Timorese and our relationship with Indonesia is, in my view, quite misguided.

The inescapable conclusion is that Australia sacrificed essentially important principles in the narrow interest of profit.

In signing this agreement, the Government was in violation of, for example, the United Nations Charter (the UN still does not recognise Indonesia's takeover), and in blatant disregard of the Declaration on Principles on International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States (1970), an important statement of principle of which this country was actually a sponsor.

Among other things, the declaration states that "the territory of a state shall not be the object of acquisition by another state resulting from the threat or use of force. No territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognised as legal".

The Government ignored also its obligations under the UN Definition of Aggression (also endorsed by Australia) which provides that "No territorial acquisition or special advantage resulting from aggression shall be recognised as lawful".

Some will dismiss these niceties of international law as being of little importance but to ignore them is to place Australia's international standing in jeopardy.

In effect, by signing this treaty Australia moved a step further in legitimising the forcing of a people into a form of colonial bondage which, as events in Eastern Europe, Afghanistan and Cambodia have shown, is simply no longer tolerated by the international system.

The economic merits of the pact for Australia are indisputable, and it will no doubt enrich those companies engaged in oil exploration and exploitation activities.

But that this neat arrangement is going to do something for the Timorese is a sheer fiction, designed to make us feel comfortable about something which should cause us to hang our heads in shame.

Australia is aiding and abetting the conquerors

The reality is that Australia is aiding and abetting the transfer of their resources to their conquerors, whose troops decimated their population in one of the bloodiest military interventions since the end of World War II.

The minister seeks to assure us that this pact will still in some way enable Australia to do something about the human rights of the Timorese. But as self-determination is the basic human right of such peoples, how can we improve their conditions when we have denied them a right so essential to their happiness and well-being? We simply cannot have it both ways.

It has been asserted that the position of the Timorese is now quite irreversible, but is this really so?

In the light of recent events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe surely nothing is irreversible. We cannot rule out a similarly drastic change occurring in Indonesia, conceivably accompanied by an Indonesian acknowledgment of the illegality of the brutal seizure of East Timor. In such an event the Timorese could well be given a second chance.

Senator Evans has shown a commendable interest in human rights as an important element of foreign policy, and therefore I cannot believe that he is comfortable with this agreement. Its accommodation of Indonesia's uncompromising stand will serve only to strengthen Indonesia's resolve to defy world opinion. In a rather cynical way it seems aimed at undermining the hope still cherished by most Timorese that their new colonial status is not for ever..

However, all is not lost for these people. During a recent visit to Canada, the United States (including the UN) and Western Europe, I gained the strong impression that because of such events as the withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan, the Vietnamese from Cambodia, and the South Africans from Namibia, together with the release of East European states from Soviet bondage; a new interest is developing in the Timor question.

Hitherto this issue was invariably obscured by other high-profile situations, but that has now dramatically changed. The question is being asked, can the Indonesians be allowed to get clean away with the sort of conduct totally repudiated elsewhere? And, even at this late hour, is it acceptable for East Timor to be the only former colony to have been denied the universally-accepted right to self-determination?

The annexation has recently been soundly condemned in the European Parliament, and in the US Congress more than 200 members, among them names such as Senator Edward Kennedy and Patrick Moynihan, signed a letter to the Administration, calling for a just settlement to the problem.

Thus, what seems to be Australia's efforts to help Indonesia dispose of Timor could well backfire on this country, exposing how its governments have accommodated a gross transgression of the kind denounced elsewhere as totally unacceptable in this day and age.

Jim Dunn is convener of the Human Rights Council of Australia and was Australian Consul to East Timor from 1962 to 1965.

THE AGE, 13 JUNE 1990

WORLD NEWS

Indonesians report trauma, war conditions on Timor

By TOM HYLAND,
Jakarta, Tuesday

East Timor endures war conditions, trauma and deep social divisions almost 15 years after it was incorporated into Indonesia, according to the findings of an academic study.

The study says that, unlike the Jakarta Government, the people of East Timor do not believe that the problem of decolonisation in the former Portuguese territory has been settled.

Prepared by the centre for rural and regional development research at the Gajah Mada University in Yogyakarta, it calls for an immediate reduction in the military presence in East Timor, the easing of "rigid and authoritarian" Government policies, and an official advisory role for the Roman Catholic Church.

Believed to be the first of its kind by Indonesian scholars, the report was prepared at the request of the Provincial Government in East Timor and funded by the Bank of Indonesia.

Although the 130-page report does not question Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, it echoes many criticisms made by outsiders of Jakarta's policies.

Completed in March, it has already caused controversy. A public seminar scheduled in Dili in April to discuss its findings was cancelled, apparently because of military sensitivities.

Instead, the report was considered at a closed-door meeting attended by university researchers, Provincial Government leaders, and senior military officers.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, as Portugal's overseas empire disintegrated. It annexed the territory as its 27th province the following year. Bands of Fretilin independence guerillas still operate in isolated areas, while growing opposition to Jakarta's rule has come from students and other young people.

Although Jakarta argues that the people of East Timor agreed to integrate with Indonesia, the Gajah Mada report found that the trauma of war and a heavy military presence continued to hinder development.

"With the integration of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia, the Government regards the problem of East Timor decolonisation as settled," it says. "However, this appears not be be the case for the East Timorese people."

It says economic development is hampered by a "war economy laden with regulations, sometimes with monopolistic tendencies".

Economy

The university researchers refer repeatedly to an overdose of control by the armed forces, and call for an immediate end to the "prolonged war condition".

The report also calls for an end to military domination of the economy, referring to its monopoly of the lucrative coffee trade.

While the report recognises improvements in roads, transport, education and health care since the Indonesian takeover, it says physical progress has not overcome problems that resulted in the deaths of East Timorese people during the annexation.

It refers to a cultural gap between local people and outsiders who hold most important Government positions but are ignorant of local culture.

Mutual suspicion was hampering nation building, and was exacerbated by prolonged warfare that "led to excesses in the form of human rights abuses by the security apparatus ... "

— AAP

SUNDAY HERALD, 29 APRIL 1990

Top-secret talks held on East Timor 'trauma'

By PETER MARES

The Indonesian Government has suppressed a controversial seminar on East Timor which revealed the territory was still undergoing a "war economy" and was permeated by "the trauma of integration".

The findings, by a group of Indonesian academics, are in contrast to the official government line that the transition is proceeding smoothly.

Last week the Indonesian press reported that the seminar, planned for the East Timorese capital, Dili, had been postponed indefinitely.

But according to sources in Indonesia, it was held behind closed doors and attended by military officials.

No reason was given for the postponement, which came after Jakarta's leading daily, *Kompas*, published highlights of a report on development in East Timor.

The seminar was organised to discuss the report, prepared by sociologists, anthropologists and economists from Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Java.

Their work represents the most frank assessment of the situation in East Timor to find public circulation in Indonesia. It adds weight to criticisms made by people outside the country.

The report speaks repeatedly of the Indonesian military presence in East Timor as an "overdose". It says government officials are surprised when they find the Timorese enthusiastic about building a church, but indifferent to building a pipeline for fresh water. Despite the urgent need for an improved water supply, local people are apathetic to any initiative by the Jakarta Government.

The skilfully worded report praises the Indonesian Government for the rapid development of physical infrastructure in East Timor over the past decade; roads, health centres and schools in every district.

However, it also points to "a rejection of the symbols of Indonesian development" by the East Timorese, and notes that they are more likely to put their trust in the Catholic Church.

The report offers proposals for change. Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor is never questioned, but the recommendations amount to a call for demilitarisation. It calls for those forced to leave fertile lands in remote areas over the past 14 years as a means of controlling independence-movement guerrilla activities, to be allowed to return.

The authors point to changes in the military command structure in East Timor last December as an example of the kind of "positive thinking" required. The changes strengthened the role of the Timorese civilian Governor, Mario Carrascalao.

Other suggestions are for a direct air link between Dili and Darwin and the formation of a powerful senior advisory committee which would include the Bishop of Timor and a number of priests of his choosing.

Among those attending the closed-doors seminar were high military officials, including Lt-Gen. Harsudiono Hartas, a deputy of the armed forces chief of staff, and Maj-Gen. Sintong Pandjaitan, commander of the military region from Bali to Timor.

The seminar and the university research on East Timor was sponsored by Bank Indonesia and the local Development Planning Council.

According to Indonesia specialist Dr Herb Feith, from the Centre for South-East Asian Studies at Monash University, the report and the seminar represent an initiative by "the dove sections" of the Indonesian Government to get their views on to the public agenda.

Dr Feith has just returned from a two-month stay in Jakarta. Asked why he thought the seminar had to be held behind closed doors, he replied:

"Basically because the main military intelligence agency is determined to put the brakes on the opening-up process in East Timor. The report certainly hits at a number of army interests."

Peter Mares is presenter of the *Indian Pacific* program on ABC Radio National.

THE AGE, 12 OCTOBER 1989

Indons admit Timor concern

By LINDSAY MURDOCH,
South-East Asia correspondent,
Dili, East Timor, Wednesday

Fourteen years after planning Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, General Benny Murdani today admitted that the disputed territory remained a security concern for Indonesia.

He said the situation there was "less than normal". Referring to guerillas of the resistance group Fretilin, General Murdani said: "If one of the jokers came down from the hills with a hand grenade, it would be a very unlucky occasion. These people are very unreasonable and unpredictable."

Statistics are an accurate guide to the sad story of the East Timorese: well over 13,000 Indonesian police and military are stationed in the territory to contain about 200 armed resistance fighters.

A large section of the Roman Catholic Church of East Timor has been using the military's "omnipresence" as one of the main reasons the people should be given a chance to vote in a referendum on their future.

General Murdani: some church leaders have gone too far.

General Murdani, now Indonesia's Minister for Defence, said that complaints of an overbearing military in East Timor raised an interesting question.

He implicitly agreed that East Timorese were having trouble adjusting to Indonesia's rule. "They had almost 500 years of Portuguese rule and only 15 years of Indonesian rule. You should ask how the people feel in 10 years' time."

General Murdani, one of Indonesia's most powerful ministers, who is in Dili to welcome Pope John Paul tomorrow, said sections of the Catholic Church had overstepped their role in calling for a referendum.

He said the Bishop of Dili, Monsignor Carlos Belo, did not know how to draw the line between where his responsibilities started and ended. Bishop Belo has said that the East Timorese people were "dying as a nation" and felt threatened by the Indonesian military.

General Murdani said: "I feel he should not talk about political matters. I think he knows more about the people of East Timor because he lives here and I do not. But I think he has gone overboard in calling for a referendum. It won't happen."

General Murdani today met Mrs Shirley Shackleton, whose husband, Gregory, was one of five Australian newsmen killed in East Timor shortly before Indonesia announced that it had invaded the former Portuguese territory.

Mrs Shackleton, of South Melbourne, said she told General Murdani that she believed the people of East Timor should be getting a better deal.

The Pope made a 15-minute stopover in Dili today on his way to the Indonesian island of Flores, but did not kiss the ground on his arrival.

It has been a tradition for the Pope to kiss the ground the first time he sets foot in a country. He had done so on arrival in Jakarta, and to have repeated the act in Dili could have been seen as rejecting the idea that East Timor is part of Indonesia.

The Vatican follows the United Nations policy of not recognising Indonesia's rule.

The Pope will return to Dili tomorrow, and will bless a cathedral and conduct a Mass on the waterfront.

PAGE 7: Old Japanese soldier found living in jungle.

Don't dream, or else ...

Indonesian war cemetery, *Dili: how many more must die to defend 'integration'?*

Murdani's Dili speech

In the wake of the student protests in East Timor during the visit of US ambassador John Monjo on 17 January, Indonesian Minister for Defence and Security General Benny Murdani arrived in Dili to attempt to quash the new signs of resistance. On the evening of 3 February he addressed an invited audience of East Timorese officials and public figures. One of the Timorese present secretly taped the speech and passed it on to a visiting Australian journalist, Mark Baker who reported on the meeting in Melbourne's Sunday Herald.

In view of the Indonesian government's recent statement that foreign newspaper reports misquoted Murdani, **Inside Indonesia** *obtained a copy of the tape and can verify that the following extracts, translated by the London based* Tapol *organisation, are faithful to the original.*

‘Just now, the Governor (Mario Viegas Carrascalao) said that I would give you guidance. Of course, you want to know what my guidance is related to, what matter is to be discussed and why it is the Minister of Defence and Security who has come here...

'Every one of you here except those from outside this region of Timtim (*Timor Timur,* East Timor), was probably in past times a member of Apodeti[1], or a member of UDT[2], or a member of Fretilin.[3] I know that. And because of the nature of my work, I know which of you were good UDT and which were bad UDT. I also know which of you were Fretilin who subsequently became good and which were formerly not good. And I also know which of you were genuine Apodeti members and which of you only pretended to be Apodeti members. I know all that.

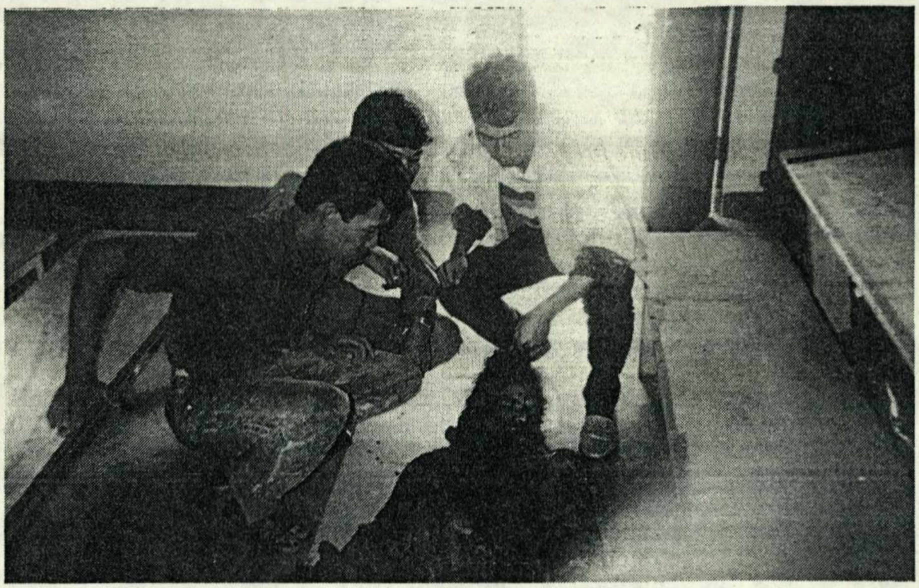
'...Timtim is known as the youngest Indonesian province. It started in other provinces in '45. In Timtim it only started in July '76, 32 years later. So of course now, on 3 February 1990, progress in other regions is rather different from Timtim. Perhaps Timtim has the most churches and the most pastors because there are so many Catholics, but there aren't many doctors, lawyers, other experts, graduates too...

'...(Indonesia is an archipelago which) has no alternative to be united because if not, one part will be drawn towards a big state there while another will be drawn towards a big state over there. The result would be that each island would be a state. This cannot be tolerated! The Indonesian people realised this in 1945 and it is realised in Timtim in 1990. If you don't realise it, you should realise that no island, or no ethnic group in Indonesia can stand on its own. We don't want that! That was laid down 1,100 years ago. Not just by the Indonesian government in 1976 but 1,100 years ago. So don't dream about having an Irian state, and Ambon state, a state of Timtim. There is no such thing! In the past there were some small states who wanted to stand on their own, and without hesitation, the Indonesian government took steps to stop that. All the forces at our disposal were used to prevent the creation of small states. And this also applies to Timtim. Some who want this are in the mountains, together with Xanana, with the so-called Fretilin; some of these people are here in ...(*unclear*) or in the local administration, where they are trying to split Timtim off from the territory of Indonesia. They too will be dealt with firmly.

'And this is why we have been striving to do this up to the moment when Timtim was felt to be mature enough and capable of standing of its own, and could be opened up. From now on, Timtim is the same as other regions. So don't try to be latter day heroes, beating your breasts and proclaiming, 'I'm a Timtim patriot'. There is no such thing as a Timtim patriot, there is only an Indonesian patriot. There is no such thing as a Timtim nation, there is only an Indonesian nation. Regardless whether it comes from the community, from young kids who finished high school only yesterday or from the church. Timtim is part of Indonesia, and the Indonesian government, whoever the President is, the government will maintain this situation...

'It is the right of every person, every citizen, to express an opinion, whoever he is. But I want to remind

We will crush them all! I repeat, we will crush them all!



Guerilla leader Minguel dos Santos: *shot by Indonesian soldiers during a visit to his family at Mehara, November 1989.*

the citizen that he doesn't only have rights, he also has responsibilities. So don't just demand rights: 'We don't like Indonesia and we'd prefer to make our own state'. I have already said if you try to make your own state and movement is strong, sufficiently strong, it will be crushed by ABRI. ABRI may fail the first time, so it will try for a second time, and for a third time. But there have been bigger rebellions, there have been greater differences of opinion with the government than the small number calling themselves Fretilin, or whoever their sympathisers are here. We will crush them all! I repeat, we will crush them all! This is not in order to crush East Timorese but to safeguard the unity of Indonesian territory physically and in other ways.

'There may be countries that are ready to give promises of help. You should learn to read and understand Indonesian or English, and then examine which are the states that want to help. The world is no longer divided up along these lines, in such divisions... Where is the country that wants to help people to create their own state (within the frontiers of) a state that already exists, like Indonesia, whether it is Malaysia, or China, or Russia or America? That's plain nonsense, so don't deceive yourselves! That's no good.

'...Some days ago, a couple of weeks ago, an ambassador (i.e. US ambassador to Indonesia John Monjo) came here and it appears that certain people decided to utilise this in order to draw attention to East Timor. Not enough jobs, this and that! I want people to understand that the lack of jobs doesn't only exist in East Timor... It is the same in Semarang, in Surabaya, in Balikpapan, in Banjarmasin, in Kupang, in Atambua, in Aceh, in Irian... Here, the people looking for work are SMA graduates. In Java, the people looking for jobs are doctors, lawyers, economists but they don't go demonstrating in front of an ambassador. They'd be ashamed to do such a thing! This is our internal affair. Fancy not feeling ashamed to go yelling in front of an ambassador, asking for work! Who would go to a foreign embassy and ask to go to their country, ask for work...

'Four days after he returned to Jakarta, the American ambassador came to see me, and he did not even mention the demonstration in East Timor. Aren't the parents of the youngsters who demonstrated and who pretend not to know that their children took part in the demonstration ashamed? Covering your faces so as not to see it!

'...Yelling in front of an ambassador...won't solve the problem. And if those who yell are those who are getting paid by the government – a *bupati* (district head), a *camat* (subdistrict head), or whatever – then that is treachery. Shouldn't you be ashamed to be getting wages while at the same time criticising the government? I think it's allowed to criticise the government, it's allowed. No-one says it's not allowed – but don't at the same time take wages from the government.

'...And as someone who is of the same religion as the majority of the population here, I have another point to make. The head of our church, the head of the world Catholic community, came here on a visit a few months ago. He too saw people yelling in Taci Tolu. The Pope went home two or three months ago. Has East Timor been given independence? The Pope does not deal with political matters. All he did was to say that many people in East Timor have suffered. He began by praying and went on with friendship. So, are you satisfied? What have you achieved by demonstrating in front of the Pope, demonstrating in front of the American ambassador? Nothing! So don't start imagining things, don't start dreaming.

'...Indonesia is a country which has had many civil wars in its forty year history. Many! Far more people died in those wars than died here. So we try to forget all that and as a nation, hold hands and face the future optimistically. We don't try to look back. 'My brother died, he was killed by him, and his group.' That's all finished. finished! Calm down and don't drag it all up again, don't drag up things from the past. Get rid of these feelings of revenge, get rid of these feelings of wanting to get your own back. Forget it! ... Don't start things or repeat things that happened in the past which only resulted in suffering, suffering and suffering.

[1] Apodeti – *Associacao Popular Democratica de Timor.* A small pro-integration party.

[2] UDT – *Uniao Democratica Timorense.* A conservative party which advocated continued association with Portugal but from late 1974 supported independence.

[3] Fretilin – *Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente.* A leftist party, Fretilin was the strongest of the three main groups. It supported complete independence from Portugal and Indonesia.

MELBOURNE AGE, 28 August 1989

Bishop calls for poll in Timor

MELBOURNE AGE 28/8/89 p.1.

By LINDSAY MURDOCH
Dili, East Timor,
Sunday

The head of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Belo, has publicly demanded that Indonesia allow his people a vote on their future.

Bishop Belo has told two Australian journalists in Dili that the culture and identity of the East Timorese people was "dying every day".

Speaking publicly for the first time about a written appeal he made earlier this year to the United Nations, Bishop Belo said his people were suffering "mainly psychological and political pressure" under the rule of Indonesia, which invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

"Everybody is obliged to think and do according to the Indonesian political system ... that they are an integral part of Indonesia and that there is no other way," Bishop Belo said.

He said that some of his people had come to him with claims of "torture, killings and brutality" by the Indonesian military.

A senior Indonesian Army officer in East Timor today strongly denied the claims, saying that they had been made as part of a propaganda war waged by the resistance group, Fretilin.

He denied, in an authorised briefing, that the military was committing human rights abuses and said its 13,000-strong force in the province was engaged in a campaign to "win the hearts and minds" of the people.

Bishop Belo, who was born in East Timor, said: "If we respect truth and justice, for me, there is no other way but to give the possibility to all the East Timorese to express their ideas and desires to whom they should belong without pressure and without force."

Bishop Belo's stand has split the Catholic Church in East Timor only six weeks before the first visit to the province by the Pope. Ninety-two per cent of East Timor's 666,000 people are Catholic.

Bishop Belo's comments will anger Indonesia, which insists that the people of East Timor have exercised their legitimate right to self-determination by deciding to be independent through integration with Indonesia and that it has invested huge resources to help the province develop and integrate smoothly.

The Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, said he did not believe the people wanted a referendum. "Once you put the problem to the common people ... they will refuse because that will mean again bloodshed — killings in East Timor," he said.

Continued: PAGE 4

PAGE 4: Journey into East Timor.

Continued on back....

MELBOURNE AGE, 28 August 1989

Bishop demands Indonesia give Timorese vote on future

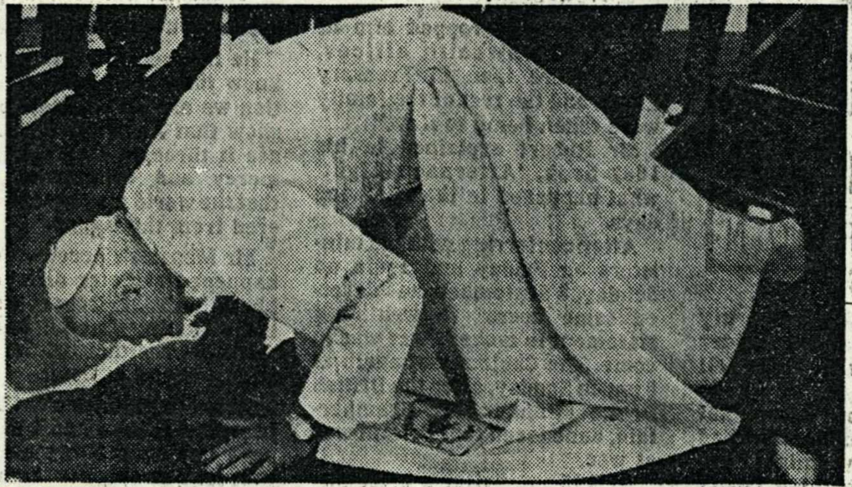
FROM PAGE ONE

Bishop Belo told 'The Age' and AAP in the capital, Dili, that he was speaking publicly because of his experience of seeing people suffering "without a *voice to speak openly, frankly* and freely". "Priests and bishops can speak but the ordinary people cannot speak. If they do, they face interrogation or torture," he said.

Bishop Belo said he hoped the planned visit by the Pope on 12 October would focus international attention on East Timor. The visit has created a dilemma for the Vatican, which follows the policy of the United Nations and does not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

The Pope traditionally kisses the ground of each country in which he arrives. If he kisses the ground in Jakarta and again in Dili, the opponents of Indonesia's annexation will claim it as a protest against Indonesia's rule.

Bishop Belo and other church leaders in Asia have said they do not know what the Pope will do. But Bishop Belo said: "According to me it is better to make some statement about human rights and underline again respect for the historical, religious and cultural identity of the people of East Timor".



The Pope kisses the ground on arrival in Luxembourg in 1985. Repeating the traditional act in East Timor could be seen as a political move.

Bishop Belo, who is the apostolic administrator in Dili, appealed in his letter to the United Nations for it to "start in Timor the most normal and democratic process of decolonisation, the holding of a referendum".

The letter said: "Indonesia says that the people of Timor themselves have already chosen integration but the people of Timor themselves have never said this. Portugal wants to let time solve the problem. And we continue to die as a people and a nation."

The letter, also sent to the Pope, referred to "persecution of Catholics by the Indonesian authorities". Bishhop Belo said in Dili that Indonesia had stopped at least eight foreign Catholic missionaries from entering East Timor. Indonesian authorities say the applications are still being processed.

Several Catholic priests interviewed in Dili criticised Bishop Belo, saying his actions were not realistic, ignored the progress brought by Indonesia and was an attempt to hang on to authority by a colonial elite.

Technically, the United Nations considers East Timor a territory under Portuguese administration, and in recent years the Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, has been supervising talks between Indonesia and Portugal.

Indonesia says that Portugal, by abandoning East Timor in August 1975 at the height of a civil war, forfeited any historical, moral or legal right to be still considered as the administering power. Australia recognises Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor.

Bishop Belo said that about June this year at least eight people came to him after being released from jail, allegi that they had been tortured. He sa that a total of about 40 people had be arrested because of alleged links wi Fretilin. He believed that all had be released, "maybe because of t Pope's visit".

During the interview with the fir Australian journalists given unr stricted access in East Timor sin 1975, Bishop Belo's house was bei watched by two plainclothes milita officers. Bishop Belo said that he w constantly watched.

The army officer said later that t military watch was to protect Bish Belo, who could be the target of a Fr tilin attack. "It would be very easy f someone in his position to be hurt a if he was killed they (Fretilin) wou blame us," the officer said.

The officer said that if at least eig people complained to Bishop Be about treatment in jail, they did "because they do not have bullets fight their war and instead use con ments". He said 27 people had bee detained about that time and que tioned about support for Fretilin. A were now free and none had bee mistreated.

THE AUSTRALIAN, 31 AUGUST 1889

Indonesian army vetoes East Timor referendum

JAKARTA: The Indonesian military yesterday denounced the head of the Catholic church in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, Bishop Ximenes Belo, for reportedly calling for a referendum on the territory's future.

A military spokesman, General Nurhadi Purwosaputro, said Bishop Belo had no authority to speak on behalf of the whole East Timorese population.

"His position is merely as a leader of church members whose responsibility does not cover political affairs," General Nurhadi said.

Bishop Belo called for the referendum during a visit to Sydney at the weekend. He also said that the people of East Timor faced "interrogation or torture" if they spoke out.

General Nurhadi said nowhere in Indonesia were people arrested because of what they said.

Such action was only directed towards "people who act against the Government", he said.

Indonesia intervened in a civil war in East Timor in 1975 after the hasty withdrawal of the Portuguese colonial administration, and the following year unilaterally declared the territory the country's 27th province.

The United Nations and the Vatican continue to recognise Lisbon as the East Timor's lawful administrative authority.

East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao said most of the province's 650,000 people would not support the bishop's call.

Bishop Belo had called for a referendum in a letter to UN Secretary General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar earlier this year which was strongly criticised in Indonesia.

AAP

THE AGE, 31 AUGUST 1989

Indonesia hits at vote call in Timor

Jakarta, Wednesday

The Indonesian military today denounced the head of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor for reportedly calling for a referendum on the territory's future.

A military spokesman, General Nurhadi Purwosaputro, told the official Antara news agency that Bishop Carlos Belo had no authority to speak on behalf of the whole East Timorese population.

"His position is merely as a leader of church members whose responsibility does not cover political affairs," General Nurhadi said, commenting on remarks by the bishop, which were published in 'The Age' on Monday.

In an interview with Lindsay Murdoch, South-East Asia correspondent, Bishop Belo called for a referendum to decide the future of the former Portuguese colony.

He also said that the people of East Timor faced "interrogation or torture" if they spoke out.

General Nurhadi said nowhere in Indonesia were people arrested because of what they said and that such action was only directed towards "people who act against the Government".

General Nurhadi said Bishop Belo's referendum call, if correct, was outside the prelate's responsibility. In East Timor as in any other part of Indonesia, people's aspirations are channelled through Parliament at the local level, the general said.

The governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, told 'The Age' in remarks published on Monday that he did not believe the people wanted a referendum.

Bishop Belo called for a referendum in a letter to the United Nations secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, earlier this year. The appeal was strongly criticised in Indonesia and the church leader was accused of interfering in politics.

Pope John Paul II is scheduled to make a short stop in the East Timorese provincial capital of Dili on 14 October during a tour of Indonesia.

Indonesia intervened in a civil war in East Timor in 1975 after the hasty withdrawal of the Portuguese colonial administration and the following year unilaterally declared the territory the country's 27th province.

— AFP

THE AUSTRALIAN, 6 SEPTEMBER 1989

Indonesia rejects call for vote on Timor

INDONESIA'S Minister for Home Affairs, General Rudini, yesterday rejected a call from the head of the Catholic Church in East Timor for a referendum to determine the province's future.

General Rudini, whose portfolio covers Indonesia's provinces, said Bishop Carlos Belo did not speak for East Timor's people.

"He does not represent the people of East Timor because the East Timor province has its own representative Parliament in Dili," General Rudini told *The Australian* in Canberra.

Bishop Belo called for the referendum in a letter to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, this year and repeated the call to Australian journalists in August.

General Rudini, in Canberra to meet the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, said the East Timorese Parliament had passed a declaration dissenting from the Bishop's view.

The strength of support for Bishop Belo will be tested when the Pope visits East Timor on October 14.

As the Pope reportedly only kisses the ground when entering a new country, his actions on landing in the province could be significant.

General Rudini also forecast continued improvements in another province, Irian Jaya.

– ROY ECCLESTON

A solution for East Timor

By Herb Feith

Secessionist pressures have grown stronger in many places in the past five years — most strikingly in the Soviet Union, but also in Yugoslavia, Morocco (the Western Sahara), Ethiopia (Eritrea, Tigray), Sudan, China (Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia), India (Kashmir and the Sikhs), Papua New Guinea (Bougainville) and Indonesia (East Timor, Irian Jaya).

The Soviet Union appears to be setting the pace. Gorbachov has already made huge concessions to ethnic-nationalist movements with secessionist aims, and will probably need to confirm and extend these in the coming months and years. If that happens, and he survives, similar movements elsewhere will be emboldened and other governments will be forced to consider granting more comprehensive forms of regional autonomy to keep their secession-minded regions from open revolt.

In a post-Cold War world, in which governments are acutely aware of their interdependence, most governments and institutions like the World Bank see an interest in maintaining current state boundaries. Even in states with strong sympathies for particular secessionist movements, overt support is usually outweighed by fear of an opening of Pandora's Box.

It is not merely that the US, Japan and Western Europe want Gorbachov to survive because they fear the chaos which could result if he fell. They also fear that one major series of frontier adjustments could rapidly lead to overwhelming pressure for others, thus destabilising the whole international system. However, these fears also give governments and international institutions a potential interest in the fashioning of alternatives to secession, including quasi-state arrangements.

The early 1990s could, therefore, see many states experiment with quasi-state formulas in response to the demands of clamorous nationalist movements — most of them in border regions. We are likely to see more special regions, special autonomous zones and so on, and probably also more free association arrangements and confederations. We may well also see forms of blurring of the line between "sovereign" states and member states, for which there is currently no precedent. This trend would presumably both require and contribute to a major strengthening of international law and international judicial machinery.

In looking at the implications of the Soviet Union's responses to secessionist pressures for the Indonesian Government's contests with ethnic-nationalist forces in East Timor — and to a lesser extent Irian Jaya — I believe the time is ripe for a new approach to peace-making in East Timor which takes quasi-state ideas as a point of departure.

The East Timorese nationalists are in a strong position. They not only have succeeded in keeping their claim on international agendas, but have also strengthened this claim in the 18 months since Jakarta's decision to "open" East Timor. Evidently deciding that urban political challenges should now have a higher priority than rural guerilla activity, they mounted unprecedented anti-Indonesian demonstrations during the Pope's visit last October and the visit by US Ambassador to Jakarta John Monjo in February. These changes have led to a new interest in East Timor among leaders in Jakarta.

The time is ripe for a new approach to peace-making in East Timor which takes quasi-state ideas as a point of departure

But Suharto's New Order remains strong, not least because of its present great attractiveness to foreign investors. The economic successes of the Indonesian Government, most strikingly in the way it has responded to the low oil prices of the mid-1980s, are a factor the East Timorese nationalists would be unwise to leave out of their calculations.

Moreover, they would be unwise to leave the Irian factor out of their considerations, as Irian Jaya is the principal reason why the Suharto government and its successor are unlikely to let East Timor become an independent state. Conceding independence to East Timor would set up strong demands for independence to be granted to Irian Jaya, which is larger, richer and seen as far more integral to Indonesia's national identity.

What would be involved in the search for a free association future for East Timor? One point of departure would be the proposal the exiled Tibetan leader, the Dalai Lama, presented to the European Parliament and recently reiterated, whereby Tibet would be independent of China in all matters other than foreign affairs and defence, which would remain under the legal authority of Peking.

Free association is a highly flexible notion. The idea was authorised by the UN General Assembly in 1960 as one of three ways of achieving authentic decolonisation. The term is used in relation to areas like Puerto Rico previously under direct US control that were granted "Commonwealth status" rather than statehood. It is also used for the relationship of the Cook Islands to New Zealand. Older relationships, such as those between San Marino and Italy, Monaco and France and Andorra with both France and Spain, are also often described as free association. What these relationships have in common is that the sovereignty of the smaller entity is seen as limited by a contract with the larger one.

The principal grievances of the East Timorese would be satisfied if the Indonesian military forces left and power over local affairs passed to an elected government in which all groups of East Timorese — including the Fretilin resistance, the Catholic Church and the groups around the Indonesian-appointed, but nevertheless fairly popular Governor Mario Carrascalao — were able to compete freely. Such an arrangement would presumably need to be formalised through a UN-sanctioned process and sustained by some form of international presence — possibly including Portugal (East Timor's former colonial ruler), Asean and the UN itself.

It is hard to see the Indonesian Government accepting a settlement of this kind in the immediate future. But I hope Indonesians thinking about how to resolve the impasse in East Timor will find free association worth considering. It would also be relevant to Portuguese thinking, particularly to the planning for the parliamentary mission Lisbon is reportedly arranging to send to East Timor in August-September. ■

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